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VOL. XXXII, NO. 3

A STUDY OF NAVAJO SYMBOLISM

BY

FRANC JOHNSON NEWCOMB
STANLEY FISHLER
AND
MARY C. WHEELWRIGHT

LINE DRAWINGS
BY
LLOYD MOYLAN

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
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A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE FORM OF NAVAJO CEREMONIES

ALL ceremonies are for healing, either of fears or of bodily ailments, and each is a communal affair paid for by the patient's relatives. A medicine man is consulted as to what ceremony is required and often uses divination to decide the matter. When this and the location are settled, and also whether a complete ritual or a short one should be used, the hogahn is selected or built and medicine articles are collected, such as herbs, rocks to crush into colored sands, fuel, and persons to help the ritual. It begins by the lighting of the fire in the hogahn, and for four days in a complete ritual the patient and participants take a sweat bath and emetic to cleanse themselves, and ceremonial offerings are made for the Powers to be invoked. In the evening while prayers are sung, a rite of the untying of knots in woolen cords which are pressed to the patient's body and limbs, may typify the loosening of tensions in the patient.

There are several forms of these rites, such as passing the patient through a line of hoops placed outside the hogahn on four consecutive days while prayers are said. As he passes through, a covering is progressively removed, which typifies a process of recreating him into health again.

The sand painting rite begins after the purification and is made to embody the powers to be invoked. The painting is made under the medicine man's direction and is produced by each painter holding a particular colored sand in his hand and pouring it in a delicate stream between thumb and first finger.

When complete, the painting is blessed with pollen and prayer, and the patient sits on it and is treated by the assistant, who first presses the figures of the painting himself, then presses them to the body of the patient. The patient also drinks a decoction of the painting and afterwards inhales incense. In a complete ceremony there are usually four days of sand painting rites; each day after the treatment of the patient the painting is destroyed. Sometimes the body of the patient is painted with the great symbols, which ends the rite of healing.

This ends the ceremony except where there is a public ritual dance.

A more complete account of the ceremonies and ritual is given in Volume I of the Navajo Series published by the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art. There are at least eight major ceremonies, and many many others, and at the Museum there are over four hundred sand paintings recorded.

MARY C. WHEELWRIGHT

Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art
1955

PART I:

NAVAJO SYMBOLS IN SAND PAINTINGS AND RITUAL OBJECTS

by

Franc Johnson Newcomb

PREFACE

by

Mary C. Wheelwright

I HAVE known Mrs. Franc J. Newcomb for twenty years and am so thankful that she has been persuaded to put down her intimate knowledge of the sand paintings, their symbols, meaning, and the ritual connected with them.

She came from Wisconsin to the Navajo Country in 1914, living at Fort Defiance as a teacher, and after her marriage, coming to a trading post (Nava, now called Newcomb, New Mexico) 65 miles north of Gallup on the road to Shiprock, New Mexico. In those days there were no surfaced roads — in rainy weather the roads were nearly impassable — and her life was definitely of pioneer quality. On a camping trip in 1920 I stayed at the Nava trading post, having just seen my first Navajo ceremony, and I asked many questions and found both Mr. and Mrs. Newcomb really interested in the Indians' ceremonies which was most unusual, as few traders at that time took any interest in them. They were very fond of Hasteen Klah, one of the most respected of the medicine men, who lived nearby and who was also fond of the Newcombs. I urged Mrs. Newcomb to make a study of the Indian religion as she could draw well and had such a wonderful opportunity through Klah's friendship to understand and possibly record the religion, which had never been done except by Washington Matthews twenty-five years before. He was an Army doctor situated on the Reservation and during seven years made a superb record of one ceremony, the Night Chant or Yehbechai, among others. But through Klah we found that there were at least eight major ceremonies practised by the Navajo people.

Klah was, fortunately, willing to answer questions and finally invited Mrs. Newcomb to see a ceremony, at which time he gave a Blessing Chant over her. She felt, as I did, that there was an enormous amount to learn and respected Klah's integrity and fineness, so was willing to obey his condition of recording; that is, that she should memorize the paintings but never take notes or draw at the ceremonies. She was particularly interested in recording the paintings, and later, when we worked together, we divided the task so that I recorded the ritual and myth. At first it was all we could do to put down what we saw, but gradually during many years and dealing with the many medicine men recommended to us by Klah, the idea of the meaning of it all came to us both, and I urged her to open to others her unique knowledge acquired through thirty-five years. Others have studied carefully the racial and social Navajo system of life, but no one has lived with the Navajos and studied their painted symbols as has Mrs. Newcomb. Meeting so many medicine men, she, through her knowledge, made them realize that she was qualified to obtain what information they could give her.

When a noted medicine man died, and his relatives realized that they were not sure of details of the paintings, they asked Mrs. Newcomb to help them. Only last year she found at a Mountain Chant ceremony that the medicine man was using a painting that she had helped to recreate, and he spoke of the fact to her.

During my efforts to record the ritual and myths I began to be fascinated with the fundamental similarity of these to the myths in other religions over the world. During my travels and reading I had noted these, so in Part III of this book I have added my contribution extending the scope of this study to include wider horizons.

I have not attempted any complete study of these universal symbols, but felt it would be useful to publish them here, suggesting and hoping that others will be inspired to carry this study further, for in my opinion they point to a common source.

THE NAVAJO SAND PAINTING

TO BECOME acquainted with the symbolism which accompanies all Navajo religious ritual, it is necessary to spend long hours in the ceremonial hogahn observing the symbols of the sand painting, the designs on wooden plaques, bone whistles, gourd or hide rattles, and many other decorated articles. In the ceremonial hogahn the medicine man, the painters, and the helpers are nearly always men, although there is no taboo against women acting in these capacities.

In almost every Navajo ceremony, whether great or small, the painting and use of colored symbols plays an important part, and, as the pigment for these ritualistic designs is generally five colors of sand, they are called "sand paintings." Up to recent times there were no copies of sand paintings or other ceremonial designs made in permanent form, the only records being held in the minds of the medicine men. The painters who spread the colored sands under their guidance are men who have already been initiated into this particular rite and who know the procedure, but it is the medicine man who directs sand painting, line for line, and color for color. If the painter makes a mistake either by drawing an incorrect line or using the wrong color, it is never erased. The painter simply picks up a handful of background sand and covers the error until it does not show, then proceeds to lay the correct line or color.

The ceremonial hogahn, in which the sand paintings will be made, is always built so the earthen floor approximates a circle. The roof opening or smoke hole is a rectangular opening in the roof to admit light and provide ventilation. The doorway, which always faces the east, is covered with thick blankets and kept tightly closed during all ceremonial procedure. During the rites and the chanting, which take place at night and in the early morning, the fire pit is located in the center of the floor directly beneath the smoke hole. In preparation for a large painting, this fire pit is moved east of the center to a position about three feet inside the door, and people entering must go either to the right or to the left of it. The hollow which held the old fire is filled with adobe clay and tamped solid.

Young men, who are acting as helpers, bring blankets filled with clean wind-blown sand to serve as background for the painting. This adobe-colored sand is then spread smooth with oak weaving battens and is ready for the painters to begin. Three of the basic sand colors are obtained by crushing and grinding the red, white, and yellow native sandstone. Blue is the charred root of the rock oak ground with white sand, and black is obtained by grinding charcoal with dark sand. A near relative of the patient sits near the north wall to grind these colors with stone and metate, then places each color on separate slabs of bark. Grinding the sand is considered an unlucky task which only a relative or a close friend will undertake. After this work is finished, the medicine man will say a prayer for the grinder and sprinkle pollen over his hands and arms to banish evil effects.

Each painter is supplied with five slabs of bark holding the "paint" they are to use. If the medicine man is using one symbol more powerful than any of the others, it will be placed in the center, and very often he makes this design to start the painting. Then he sits on folded blankets or sheep pelts with all of his medicine bundles, prayer sticks, rattles, bowls, and pollen bags piled against the western wall.

After the central design is completed, the painters move back, smoothing the sand and adding other symbols to the east, south, west, and north, as well as in the semi-directions. A guardian symbol is usually drawn around three sides, and this is sometimes a rainbow or a flash of lightning, bars of light, or even a curved snake. The unguarded side is always toward the east, and here two small guard symbols are usually drawn. Four, eight, twelve, or any numeral of four prayer sticks are erected at equally spaced intervals around the outside of the painting; bowls are filled with herb infusion and placed inside the guards at the northeast, and all is in readiness for the ritual.

Now a pause occurs, and the women bring baskets of bread fresh from the adobe ovens, pans of mutton stew, melons, coffee, and sugar. The men group about the food, cutting the meat with their own knives and dipping the stew with the crusty bread. When the women have taken away the remains of the dinner, the medicine man opens a buckskin bag of pollen and, carefully stepping on the background sand, takes pinches of the yellow powder to bless each symbol. With a circular motion of his hand he dusts the pollen over the guards, and ends with a motion of tossing some through the opening in the roof. Throughout this pollen blessing rite the medicine man intones a low prayer.

When the medicine man is again seated on his blankets a helper steps outside the door and calls loudly, "The ceremony is about to begin."

This is a signal for the patient, accompanied by a sponsor, to enter the hogahn closely followed by the women of the patient's family and all others who wish to be present at the healing rites. Before entering the hogahn, the patient has been handed a basket of corn meal; white for a man, yellow for a woman. He holds this basket in the curve of his left arm, and the medicine man directs him in scattering meal on each symbol following the same sequence as the pollen blessing. But this corn meal is in the nature of a gift and is not accompanied by either prayer or chant. The patient is offering this food to the forces represented by the sand symbols.

Then the patient sits near the door to remove shoes, clothing, and jewelry; a man wears only his shorts or gee-string, but a woman removes only her shoes, velvet blouse, and jewelry. When ready, the patient is helped to his feet and the medicine man leads him to the place he is to sit on the sand painting. This is generally west of the central symbol and always facing the east.

The medicine man returns to his seat, picks up his rattle, and starts the rhythm. There are usually several men who sit near the medicine man to assist with the chant, and a few may have rattles. When the correct number of prayer songs have been chanted, the medicine man sets aside his rattle and walks onto the sand painting to stand before or beside the patient.

The various healing rites which he performs during this part of the ceremony are accompanied by intermittent chanting started by the medicine man and carried through by the chorus. There is the ritual of pressing medicine bundles to the body of the patient, the drinking of herb infusion, and other symbolic rites. The rite most closely connected with the symbols depicted on the sand painting is the pressing of sand to the patient's head, body, and limbs. To begin this, the medicine man pours the few remaining drops of herb mixture over the palms of his hands, then presses his palms to the heads of all the sand symbols and transfers the colored sand to the head of the patient. His hands are next pressed to the neck and chest of each design, and then to the neck and chest of the patient. This procedure continues until it is completed at the soles of the patient's feet, when the medicine man raises his hands, palms upward, toward the smoke hole with a gesture of dismissal.

The last act in this series of healing rites is the fumigation. Live coals are placed in front of the patient and also in front of any member of the audience who has paid for a bit of healing. The powder which the medicine man sprinkles over these coals is a mixture of aromatic sumac, bird feathers, water pollen, and dust from a gopher hole. A blue sweet-smelling smoke arises, over which the patient and other participants stoop to inhale as much as possible before it disappears. This rite is symbolic of internal and mental healing, and to banish the fear of having the ailment reappear. It also protects the patient from possible overpowering effects of the rites.

A bundle of eagle wing feathers is held out to the patient to help him to his feet and then is used to brush the colored sands from his body before he steps off the painting. He then gathers his clothing and jewelry in his blanket and walks to the men's quarters.

After the patient leaves the ceremonial hogahn, all members of the audience are at liberty to enter the painting from the east and pick up and apply the colored sand to any part of their bodies where there is an ache or

a bruise. If the ailment is a headache, then the sufferer picks up sand from the heads of the various symbols and applies it to his own head; if he is afflicted with rheumatism of back, arms, hands, or lower limbs, then sand is selected from those parts of the painted characters to cure these aches.

By the time all have finished using the magic sands, the designs are thoroughly blurred and the colors are mixed with the dull background sand. The medicine man then walks onto the painting and, with a feather tipped wand, carefully destroys every vestige of the symbolism. Helpers scrape the loose sand into blankets and carry it to the north, where it is piled in a sheltered place to be redistributed over the earth by the wind.

The majority of all sand paintings are made and used inside some type of ceremonial structure and are for the purpose of banishing evil influences, as well as securing blessing, healing, and peace of mind for human beings. There are occasions where they are made outside, and sometimes above, a ceremonial structure (fig. 1). In the Night Chant, a sweat house is built in each of the four directions, and each is completed with a sand painting over its top. In late winter the Navajo often hold a ceremony to bless their flocks of sheep and goats. During these blessing rites, a sand painting is drawn just outside the corral gate, and the animals are driven over it. The medicine man follows and sprinkles a little pollen into the hoof prints of the animals. To gain blessing for crops, a small sand painting is sometimes made in the center of a field about to be planted.

Other outdoor paintings are those used in trance rites during which the medicine man seeks to diagnose some unusual ailment. If he is a star gazer, then the painting will be made at night, and will consist of one or more stars painted on a dark background, but if he is a "sun gazer," the ceremony will be held at high noon, and the main figure in the painting will be the sun.

Although the sand painting is used mainly for healing, for blessing, and for the banishing of evil influences, these uses are frequently combined with other purposes. With a little added ritual and the accompanying prayers, a baby or a group of babies may be christened, boys or young men may be initiated, a child may be adopted, or any spiritual disturbance adjusted. So we find the sand paintings, with their amazing variety of stylized symbols, occupying a major place in the religious ceremonialism of the Navajo.

PLACE AND NUMBER

THE establishing of a definite locale is one of the first objectives of any Navajo myth, legend, sand painting, or religious rite. All of these have their beginnings at certain places where the immortals are said to have met and instructed the earth people. Even today the selection of a place in which to hold a major ceremony is influenced by the myth's description of a site favored by the gods. The myth may start by mentioning the place where the hero, or his parents, or possibly his clan were living at the time the story began.

In the myth explaining the Hail Chant, the opening phrase is, "There was a family of five living in a place called Kloditzen." Four of these people remained there but the fifth, being the hero of the lengthy tale, left his home and journeyed far to meet strange people and immortals. He visited the home of Winter Thunder who became his enemy and sought to destroy him with white lightning; this home is described in detail. He also visited the homes of the frog people, of the "Dontso" messengers, and of the four Summer Thunders. All of these localities are illustrated by sand paintings used during the Hail Ceremony, and each place is represented by a rectangle, the color of which indicates its direction. Each oblong house is outlined with four colors excepting a door which faces the center. A wind symbol is placed in each doorway (fig. 2).

In this Hail Ceremony, the land of night is made in the form of a rectangle, although in some sand paintings it is drawn as a diamond. Its inhabitants are the sun, the moon, the Milky Way, the stars, sun spots, comets, northern lights, and lightning. None of these are considered gods in their elemental form, as all were placed in the sky by the first immortals, but the spirits which control them have untold power for both good and evil.

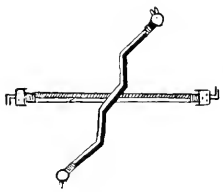
In the Blessing Ceremony, the land of the Spirit Givers (fig. 3) is an oblong topped by a square, all of which is covered with white corn meal. This is outlined with yellow pollen, and the figures painted on the white background are of colored meal or pollen. The blue land of summer is also drawn as a rectangle, and the cloud house of Estsan-ah-tlehay (Changing Woman) is painted as a white square.

In many of the myths, the elements, animals, insects, birds, and other forms of life are personified or characterized as having human attributes. All of these are spoken of as living in certain places where their sphere of influence is greatest. Many are said to possess homes of four, eight, or twelve rooms piled one above the other or spread to the four directions. The ownership of this home is sometimes determined by the tracks or footprints placed on it, or just in front of the doorway.

There is an indefinite land or plane of existence situated between the earth and the sky which is occupied by such elements and forms of life as move between the two. This is inhabited by the rain, the mist and fog, the small winds, birds, insects, moths, winged seeds, and the leaves and tips of trees. The shape of this land is rectangular but all of its inhabitants are in some manner characterized by the triangle and the number three. Clouds have three sides as do arrows, leaves, insect's wings, bird's tails, Nilth chizzie (Little Wind), Pollen Boy and Corn Bug, and many more figures (see figs. 80 and 81).

When the myth centers around the place where the immediate ceremony is being held, the sand painting will often show the traditional features of that setting. One sand picture, made during the Mountain Chant, shows the circle of cedar branches which enclose the ceremonial ground. It also shows the central fire symbolized by a large red cross, outside of which is a yellow circle and this is the space reserved for the dancers (fig. 4). A circular space marked with blue and red indicates the protected space reserved for the audience.

Location, described by the tale and shown on the sand painting, lends character to the ceremony, plays an important part in determining the number of ritualistic events, and generally indicates which group of immortals



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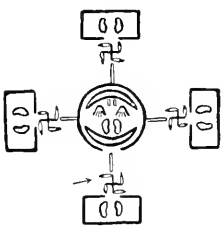

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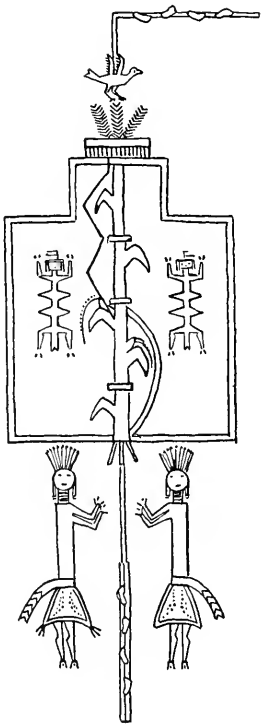

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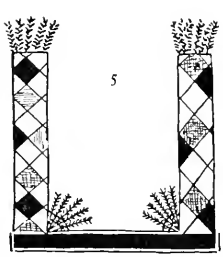

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7

FIGS. 1–7. 1. Straight bar from E. to W. is rainbow (female) and N. to S. zig-zag bar is lightning (male). 2. Oblong symbols of houses of various powers in Hail Chant. 3. The path of life is shown as a cornstalk crossing a white field. The lower two figures are the Ethkay-nah-ashi, the transmitters of life, and the upper figures are Dontso, the messenger fly. 4. Cross symbolizing fire. 5. Border representing variety of trails connected by black land below the horizon. 6. Central dwelling place and homeland. 7. Place of emergence.

or spirit forces are to be invoked. When the symbol or symbols representing place, or home, or mountain, or lake are placed in the middle of a sand painting, the figures which point in the semi-directions belong to that symbol. The figures which lie toward the cardinal points represent the immortals or powerful forces expected to arrive at the ceremony coming from the four directions. The border around the picture may represent the trails they are traveling (fig. 5).

The number 4 symbolizes stability and balance, and is static, typifying homeland or field, or a known locality. There seems to be but slight distinction in the symbolic use and meaning of the oblong and the square. Both are said to represent the land or dwelling places of spirit forces, immortals, elements, people, or animals (fig. 6). But in writing the descriptions of many sand paintings, I have noted that the square is more often spoken of as a "house" or an immediate locale while the rectangle represents the whole sphere of influence or the habitat of some particular group. In either case, it was said to be a known area with definite boundaries. The Navajo homeland is supposedly square, cornered by the four sacred mountains. This is a small and well-known area when compared with the rectangles representing the sky, the spirit world, or the land of summer.

Four squares, one above the other, are symbols of a four-story dwelling and probably came from the pueblo community houses. A black square or circle in the center of a sand painting is generally explained as being the underneath-land or place of danger where the sun does not enter. The circle can be a symbol of the place of emergence through which all living things ascended to this present world (fig. 7). The story says that water followed the ascending people not far behind so now this place is a bottomless lake. Black, yellow, blue, or white squares placed in the center may also represent stars and are regarded as being the homes or habitat of immortals and powerful spirit forces who can be persuaded to come to the assistance of human beings if the right prayers are chanted and the correct sand paintings made (fig. 8).

Parallelograms or long bars are to be found in a great many sand paintings, and are used to represent rain shaft guards, horizon boundaries, long ranges of distant mountains, columns or pillars of stone, and bodies of tall immortals, stalks of plants, or bars of light or darkness. Increasing the length or accenting the height or width of a symbol adds to its significance in the sand painting, and to its power in the rites of healing. Sometimes a figure which is painted very tall for a male patient, is shortened and widened when the patient is a woman.

Ritualistic objects which are long and slim, such as canes carried by the Hashje-hogahn and by the Beganaskiddy,[1] are counted as separate "beings" with spiritual powers of their own (fig. 9). Ladders, flutes and fire pokers are a few of the objects which gain importance with length and have spirit-controlled voices to guide parts of the ceremony or human actions whenever the need arises (fig. 10). A long, black, horizontal bar outlined in white may mean the dark earth just under the surface, and may be scattered with various colors of seeds. Or it may mean night, and then there will be stars painted on it. This is another way of indicating a certain place or locality.

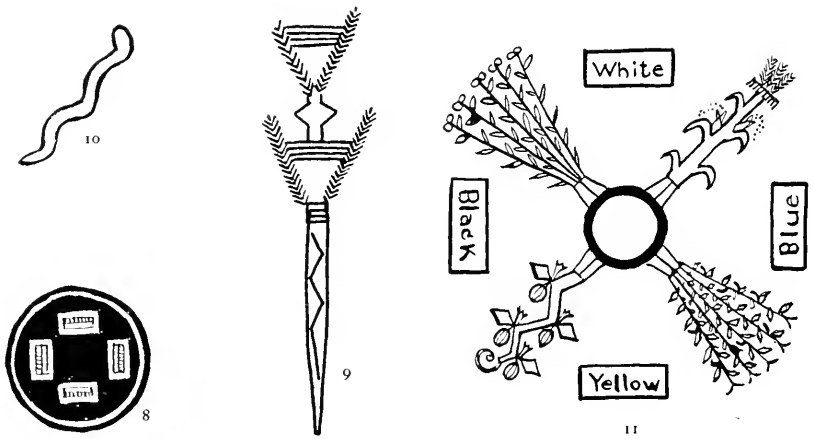
The symbology of number as used in the Navajo sand painting is explained at length in Reichard's *Navajo Religion*, Volume I. Of the even numbers, 4 or one of its multiples is employed most frequently in laying down patterns which are expected to meet the approval of the gods. Some students of ethnology believe that 4 is the number which symbolizes this present earth and everything we find here.

A fundamental quality of any Navajo religious symbol is the plural character of every spiritual power or elemental force. The hero, who killed the evil monsters, had three brothers with separate abilities and life histories; but Klah remarked, "They are really all one person." [2]

The Fire God is sometimes pictured as four personages standing side by side or coming from the four directions. The Sky is often divided into four segments with a definite symbol for each. The number of divisions granted to each great power depends on the

[1] House God and Humped-back God.

[2] Similar to the forms of the gods in India.



FIGS. 8–11. 8. Lake. 9. Prayer stick. 10. Fire poker. 11. Four sacred plants.

type of ceremony and the size of the sand painting, and can be two, four, five, eight, or sixteen.

Every sand painting emphasizes the cardinal points, the four corners of the earth where stand the four sacred mountains, four parts of the day, and four seasons in the year. There are four or eight sacred plants (fig. 11), four water monsters, four thunderers, and four, eight, or twelve prayer sticks erected around the border of the painting after its completion. It would take several chapters to list all of the places where four is of ceremonial importance. Human existence has been divided into four stages, and everyone is expected to have four ceremonies held for them before they die. One fact brought to my attention by a medicine man when he wished to emphasize the importance of "4" was nature's use of that number and its multiples. Corn is a sacred plant in Navajo lore and ceremony, and he showed me a "perfect ear" which had twelve rows of kernels along the cob and four equally perfect kernels at the tip.

The number next in importance is "2". One of the most interesting elements in their religion is the duality which is found in almost every part of creation, usually one an active and the other a passive form, not in opposition to each other but complementing each other's powers, such as he-rain and she-rain, crooked lightning and arrows which are dangerous; or straight lightning and arrows which are guarding Sky Father and Earth Mother. East and south directions are beneficent, the east being the masculine in character and south the feminine. The west and north are less beneficent, the north being masculine, west feminine. The southern and western colors of blue and yellow are considered feminine showing characteristics of warmth, growth and fertility. The north and east colors of black and white are considered masculine and are more abstract, consisting of the white or the spirit life, and the darkness of dormant life. In this as in other forms of the symbology, the active and passive forces are united to form the perfect symbol.

This is accented in the tales of the warrior twins who are supposed to be dual personalities; one went forth to accomplish dangerous feats while the other remained at home to guard the spiritual power of his brother. Another myth tells of two monster birds who

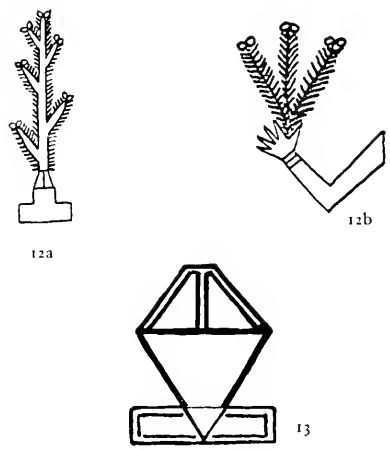
nested on the peak of Shiprock and brought small children as food for the two fledglings in the nest. The sun and the moon are twin powers in the sky and, although both are considered masculine in gender, the sun plays the dominant role, while the moon, although of equal importance, is less aggressive. Father Sky and Mother Earth are twin creations and, when placed in the same sand painting, are always shown as being the same size and the same shape, but bearing different colors, designs, and potentials.

There are two guards placed before the door when a ceremonial lodge is symbolized in sand, and two guardians at the east of many sand paintings. There are two "talking kehtahns" and two "spirit givers." Estsan-ahtlehay, the Earth Woman, and Yolthkai-estsan, the White Shell Woman who represents water. These are a few of the instances which emphasize the importance of the number "2" in Navajo ceremony and sand painting.

More difficult to evaluate is "1" as a symbolic numeral. Many lone figures which may be used for complete sand paintings are still associated with companions or with groups of similar symbols. The blue-faced sun is often used in a minor ceremony, but the white-faced moon is considered its companion. Mother Earth may be used as the design for a healing or blessing ceremony, but Father Sky is needed to complete the symbology, as one does not exist without the other.

There is one great coiled serpent which represents the latent powers of the underworld, but because of his twelve coils and his twelve house markings, he becomes a sum of four. There is one large whirling wind symbol that has no companion which is edged with forty-eight knives which promise death to all who venture near; and there is one evil black star which foretells illness and misfortune to all who chance into its influence. There is also a monster serpent who "swallows his victim alive" or so surrounds him with evil that misfortune follows his every act.

A very unusual ceremony is sometimes held for a person who has been bitten by a snake or is thought to be the victim of snake magic. The sand painting for this ceremony depicts a large blue serpent about six feet long and three feet wide. The patient, liberally sprinkled



FIGS. 12–13. 12a. Static cloud giving nourishment to tree. 12b. Three sprigs of tree carried by sand painting figures. 13. Cloud dropping rain on earth.

with blue sand, lies on this huge symbol while the prayer chant and the rites take place. Then the medicine man actually drags the victim away from the monster and the painting is destroyed.

Many of the legendary monsters vanquished by Enemy Slayer were solitary evil doers, and when one was destroyed there were no others to trouble the inhabitants of the earth. Among these were the great giant on Mt. Taylor, whose blood ran down the valleys and turned into lava rock; the monster Elk at Black Lake, the Rolling Stone, the Eyes-that-kill and the Kicking Rock. From these and other instances, it would seem that "1" is a number more often connected with evil forces than with those of a beneficent nature. It may be that, in Navajo myth and symbolism, a lone object or force such as the cyclone represents something abnormal, or perhaps a rebel such as the black star who became an enemy of society and is greatly feared. The tornado is shown singly with lightning arrows, and when in milder form carrying wild plants.

As a set and unvarying number for many things "3" (figs. 12, 13) is used in various rites and sand paintings. Triangles are active,

squares are static. Triangles are used in bird symbols, rain, cloud, and wind, or monsters. There are always three roots for every plant, three tips on a stalk of corn, three sides to a rain cloud, three tassels on each side of a dancing kilt, and three bindings for an arrow. Five and three are often inter-changeable. Five stalks of growing plants may be reduced to three without changing the symbolism, the group of arrows carried in the right hand of each Flint Boy may be either three or five. Arrow points held upright show movement. Clouds are pictured in tiers of three, five or seven.

Ceremonies lasting three days and three nights contain the same prayers, rites, and symbols as those of five-day duration. In other groupings, "5" seems to be a combination of four and one, four of these objects, persons, or times being of ordinary value but the fifth exhibiting extraordinary characteristics. Examples of this are four dancers and one medicine man; four people at Kloditsin plus one son who became a prophet; and four days of unhurried rite and ceremony preceding the fifth which brings the religious, social, and festive activities to a climax. Feathers are usually placed in groups of five, with rare groupings of three or two, and sometimes twelve.

Although we find them occasionally "6", "7" and "11" are seldom essential to Navajo myth, rite, or sand symbol: "8" and "12" are multiples of four, and "10" is simply two fives. "9" is the number of days and nights required by all of the greater ceremonies, but this can be divided into four plus four plus one. The first four days and nights are for the propitiation of the immortals, the elements, the earth, and any other forces that might cause trouble. The next four days and nights seek to bring the power of healing which is the main object of the ceremony. The ninth day and night stage the grand finale with many visitors and all of the ritualistic dancing.

The number "13" is not a ceremonial one and whenever it is mentioned it seems to be connected with something evil. If a sand painter accidentally places thirteen feathers on Talking God's headdress, the whole figure is covered with background sand and then redrawn correctly.

The Navajo calendar lists thirteen months, the extra one being the last ten or twelve days of October and a few days of November. During this odd month no new tasks may be started or old ones completed, no ceremonies may be held, no games or festivities indulged in, and all travelers must halt their journeys until the next month arrives. The name for this month is Gahnji, meaning "the divided one," and is said to belong to the coyote. Its ascendant star is the coyote star which we call the Dog Star, and under this omen hunters are supposed to prepare their weapons, masks, buckskin clothing, and amulets to be ready to take part in the winter hunting or "animal" ceremonies.

The story of the Bear Maiden cites another instance where thirteen is of evil significance. The myth deals with twelve brothers and one sister who could change into a bear at will, and then used her evil magic against her own brothers. It would be impossible to state that any one number was a constant symbol for good or another constant as a representative of evil, but odd numbers predominate when there is mention of evil from antagonistic sources, and even numbers are usually found where benefits and blessings are expected.

SIGNIFICANCE AND USE OF COLOR

COLOR occupies an important place in Navajo symbolism. Its use is mandatory in most designs made for healing or for initiation ceremonies, but not for the small figures frequently drawn for exorcism, and the tiny symbols used in picture writing are seldom made in color. The significance of the color of any particular symbol is second only to its shape and its size. The shape of the figure which is being drawn tells the object or force it represents and the color tells of what it is made, the direction from which it came, and something of the power it carries.

For example, the shape of the sun symbol is round like the sun. Its mask is blue, the material being turquoise, with heat and light being the attributes of the blue coloring (fig. 14).

FIG. 14. Sun or moon symbol.

Whether the religious symbols of the Navajo were always painted in several colors is impossible to say, but we do know the pigments used to make the earliest designs were not colored sands. In early days there seems to have been a taboo against using material, or body, of Mother Earth in this manner; even at the present time the correct prayers must be said before the stones can be ground into paint. It is possible that pollen was the first pigment to be used for ceremonial purposes and, if so, the earliest colors were yellow, white, and a soft red. These were closely followed by, or perhaps contemporary with, the use of white, blue, yellow, and red corn meal. Red was also obtained by grinding rosehips and other red mountain berries to powder, and blue was obtained by crushing the dry petals of lupine or larkspur. Charcoal dust mixed with a heavier base has always supplied black paint and powder. The symbols painted for certain ancient rites still use these unusual pigments.

Paint made from native clays softened with water has always provided the color medium for the prayer sticks and the designs on drum, rattle, and mask, and also for face and body paintings. These are of the five conventional colorings excepting when gray ashes or brown adobe is added. As the use of clay paint is common to all North American Indians, it is quite certain to antedate the use of dry sand or other dry pigments, and probably established the basic use of five colors.

In his book, *The Night Chant, A Navajo Ceremony*, Washington Matthews says that in the rites and sand paintings of the Night Chant and of several other healing ceremonies the cardinal points are thus symbolized — white to the east, blue to the south, yellow to the west, and black to the north. In the myths and in nearly all day paintings, the zenith is associated with blue. In rites which stem from the underworld or place of danger and in ceremonies for the banishment of evil, black is placed in the east, white in the north, while yellow and blue remain unchanged. A mixture of colors which makes a reddish pink, is sometimes used in the north.

He also writes of the law of contrasts in which a blue surface is outlined or tipped with yellow, a yellow surface edged with blue, a white surface with black, and a black surface with white.[3]

This generalization is just the first step in recording the symbolic placement of color in the Navajo sand painting and does not cover the many variations which are demanded for specific purposes. There are occasions when the color arrangement does not follow any established rule. A symbol of great power, such as that of the sun, will take precedence

[3] Another sign of the duality of symbolism is that some colors are considered masculine, others feminine.

over all other symbols and will occupy the position of honor, no matter what its color may be. If this is placed in the center, then the usual sequence of colors surround it, but when there is to be no central design, then this powerful symbol is placed in the east. So we find that although the sun is blue, it is always given a central or an eastern position.

There is another law which governs many sand paintings, and that is the law of opposites; or a better term might be "twin powers." For example, when the blue sun is painted in the east, the white moon is always in the west, and when the black wind occupies a southern position, the yellow wind will be placed in the north. Still other factors which determine color sequences are the season in which the ceremony is being held or the natural color of the object being represented such as brown otter fur or the gray of the badger. Another determining factor is the nature of the illness the medicine man is seeking to cure. There are no generalizations which will cover the entire subject of color sequence, but each ceremony has certain established rules which can be listed as basic.

There are a few of the smaller paintings which employ just two or three colors with one predominating. The moon mask is always white, that being the color of the shell from which it was made. There is generally a yellow line of blessing across the chin, and a red border for the life symbol. Here we find the color being determined by the material from which the object was formed, but that was not the only reason the white mask was given to the moon.

White is the color of purity and of the spirit, and also it is a symbol of coldness, of distance, and of pre-dawn light. The moon gives no heat and its light is no greater than that of pre-dawn; therefore, the mask it wears represents these qualities.

Winter thunder is always spoken of as being a white thunder bird, but this is seldom made in any sand painting for fear of bringing too much cold to the Navajo country.

Two of the most powerful symbols ever drawn into a sand painting are the Ethkay-nah-ashi, or Spirit Givers (see fig. 3).[4] These

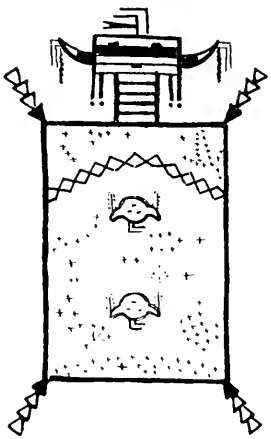


Fig. 15. Father Sky.

are given white bodies, white masks, white head feathers and kilts, and white hands. All but the hands are outlined with the red life line and little more is added excepting the black slits for eyes and mouth and a few dots of pollen. The most powerful headdresses worn by any of the immortals belong to these two figures and to House God and Talking God. All four are identical and each contains twelve white eagle feathers tipped with black and divided by the red life line showing that the feathers were taken from live eagles. This is a tall headdress and points upward to indicate spiritual knowledge and power. The upraised hands of these four figures, and of many others, are always white as they are said to bring healing and spiritual blessing.

A white square or rectangle (fig. 15) will often represent a spirit land located above this earth and held in place by cloud columns at each corner. A white circle or oblong in the north will symbolize the cold mountains in that direction; if placed in the east they represent the cold light of pre-dawn.

The significance of white as a color symbol can be either good or evil, as the medicine man

[4] See chapter on "Ceremonial Costumes, Masks and Articles," and Part III, sections dealing with Ethkay-nah-ashi.

or the ceremony require. The painting of the great white serpent which coils twelve times around the earth, proved to be too powerful for good results — the patient died. On the other hand, the background for all Hozhonji (Blessing) rites is a mat of white corn meal indicating a sacred or spirit land; and again we find that the upper bar on the forehead of many of the masks worn by the immortals is white.

Yellow is a color of spiritual blessing and also immediate physical well-being, and seems to carry fewer ills, along with the good, than any of the other four. It gains its importance from the use of yellow pollen as a medium with which to banish evil influences and to secure peace of mind along with many other blessings. Yellow sand does not possess the power of pollen, but its color significance is the same although it is never used as a substitute. A familiar symbol is the little yellow pollen boy, shaped like a wind elf, carried on the face of the sun, or the moon, or the cloud and bringing the blessing of fertility.

Yellow is the color of the female wind and of the ripened harvest and the soft autumn rain. The mountains of the west and the western sky are painted to represent the late afternoon sunshine and the evening of life. Paintings of the two birds of mid-summer, the canary and the meadow lark, are made with yellow sand, and yellow feathers from live birds are used in making prayer sticks and kehtahns for offerings.

In marking the masks and in painting the patient's face, a broad yellow stripe is always drawn across the chin to show that the gods as well as the patient have been fed with food mixed with pollen. Yellow corn meal mush is the ceremonial food for the women as it indicates fertility, while white corn meal is prepared for the men. A yellow circle on the eastern side of the painting may represent the basket of sacred corn meal sprinkled with pollen, but if the circle is placed in the west it is the symbol of mountains at sunset.

A yellow square or rectangle west of the center will represent the home or land of the immortals who live in that direction. Yellow blossoms, feathers, pitch, stones, and fur all are thought to have medicinal properties which may be used for ceremonial purposes.

Jasper is the yellow stone from which ceremonial knives are crudely fashioned, and lucky is the medicine man who has chanced to find a perfect arrowhead or a spear point of prehistoric workmanship, but beads or ornaments fashioned of this stone are never worn by the Navajo. Piñon resin is sometimes ground with the yellow sand to brighten its coloring, and it is often melted and applied as a salve for cuts and sores.

I have mentioned white as being the spiritual color but, in many ways, blue is thought of as being just as sacred and possibly more powerful as a positive force for good. The sun, which is one of the most important figures in all symbolism, wears a mask of blue turquoise; the blue dome of the sky speaks of warmth and summer vegetation; in several sand paintings corn, the most valued food plant, is painted blue edged with white. The bluebird is spoken of as a symbol of prosperity, health, and happiness; while the blue pine-martin and all blue mountain flowers are held sacred. A string of turquoise beads will bring the power of the sun to protect its wearer, and the blue clouds bring the summer rains.

As white is the color of cold and snow, blue is the emblem of warmth and rain. Tohnenilli, the water carrier, wears a robe of blue and the Diginnih, or holy people of the Night Chant, wear blue masks. Blue corn, blue mountains, blue cloud columns and figures dressed in blue generally occupy a southern position on the sand painting. The corn bug and the corn maiden, symbols of food, are nearly always blue in color while bread or mush made of blue corn meal is considered sacred food.

It would seem that the color blue always indicated some beneficent object or force, but this is not the case. There is a blue star (fig. 16) which wanders about and shoots people with magic arrows to cause fevers and mental aberration; also there is a great blue serpent which is blamed for epidemics and lingering illnesses.

Green sand is a pigment not often used at the present time, but in the first ritualistic symbols green leaves were crushed and, later, rocks stained with copper were scraped to obtain a green paint. Klah explained that green sand was not considered necessary for present-day paintings because at a distance the

Fig. 16. Evil blue star. Fig. 17. Dark world.

mountains, the trees, and the shrubs appear to be blue, therefore, blue and green were considered the same color.

Color is never an abstraction in Navajo symbolism, and black carries more significance than other colors because of its varying characteristics. Just as we associate black with death and with garments of mourning, so do the Navajo associate death, the underworld (fig. 17), a dark night, an evil deed, or any place of danger with this color. Black wind, black lightning, and black hail are all deemed destructive forces and are pictured wearing black clothing and masks. Even the feet and hands of these characters are black. The great black serpent of the underworld, the black Gila monster, and the king horned toad are evil forces to be propitiated.

All colors are credited with dual characteristics, and black is no exception. We find the black thunder speaking in the loudest voice, and black clouds bringing the greatest rainfall, which is a much prayed-for blessing. A black square in the center of a sand painting may represent the place of emergence into this world, the dark underneath land, or the home of under-earth dwellers. A black circle in the same position might be a mountain or mountain cave, or it may stand for a deep lake with a constant supply of water.

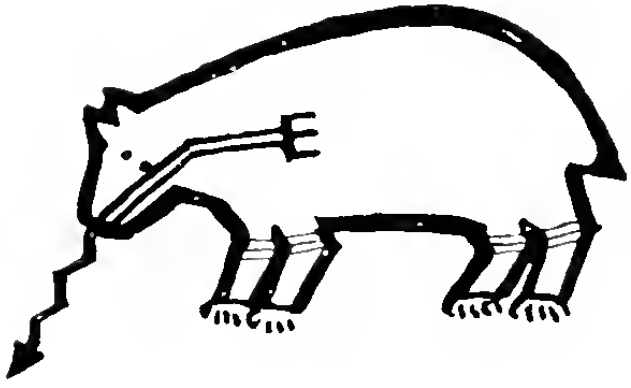
Black mountains usually stand at the north or the east and are considered guards or walls between the Navajo and their enemies. They are a beneficent power which provides springs, lakes, fire wood, obsidian, herbs for healing, mountain sheep, and other food animals, and the feathers of the magpie.

The blanket of night is pictured as a mat of black sand decorated with patterns of white stars and also the sun and the moon. It is outlined in white morning light. Night by itself is not considered evil unless it is cloudy, windy and moonless; then it is said to be filled with evil spirits, and the birds, animals, or people who hunt or travel about on such a night are thought to be their servants. Owls, night hawks, coyotes, rats, mice, crickets, moths, whip-poor-wills, and badgers are classed with witches. If one of these is drawn into a sand painting its color is either black charcoal or gray cedar ashes, both of which have been through fire.

Gray is a color seldom used in a major sand painting made for an ordinary healing ceremony, but there are various shorter rites for the purpose of warding off evil influences that do use gray ashes to draw symbols. If a Navajo has injured a coyote, or a badger, or weasel, or any other night prowler and the act has been followed by an accident or bad luck, he concludes that the animal has turned its evil influence against him and his household. Then a medicine man who knows the correct ceremony is hired, and often he makes a symbol of the animal with gray ashes. Small sketches of gray ash are also used in some trance rites.

Red is a color of fierce power which is seldom, if ever, used as the main color or background of a sand painting. In places where a major symbol might logically be expected to be red, there is a compromise of mixed colors called "ditsos," which appears on the painting as a dusky pink. This is used in the north in lieu of a red thunder bird, it is used as the color of serrated arrows sent forth by the northern lights, for special medicine bundles, and to indicate thunder reverberations. Only three ceremonies use this particular color, but in the Mountain Chant it is used in nearly all the larger paintings. A somewhat lighter shade of pink, made from a mixture of red and white sand, is for the masks of the mountain gods and indicates tanned weasel hide, also the uppermost star is pink.

Red occupies an important place in the color symbolism of all Navajo sand paintings, as it represents the life principle of animals and humans as well as immortals. It may also designate the symbol which causes death. Many animals are drawn with a red and blue line from the mouth to the heart (fig. 18), which represents the breath and the circula-



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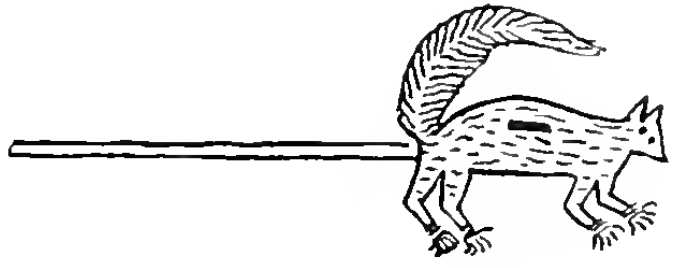

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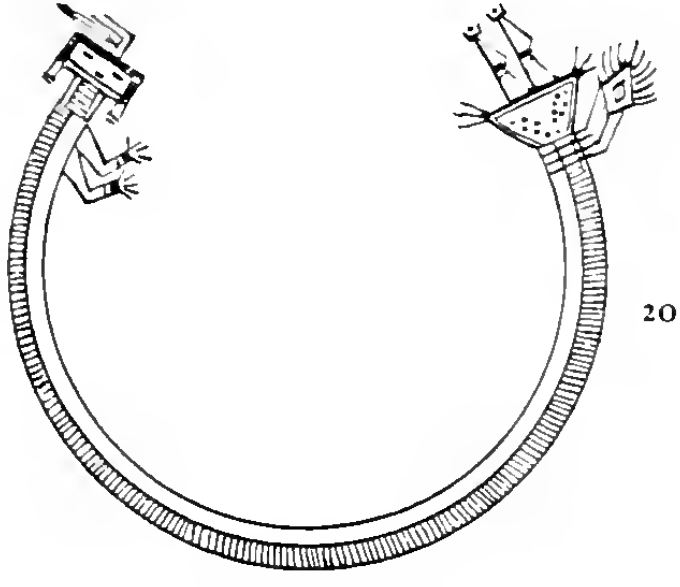

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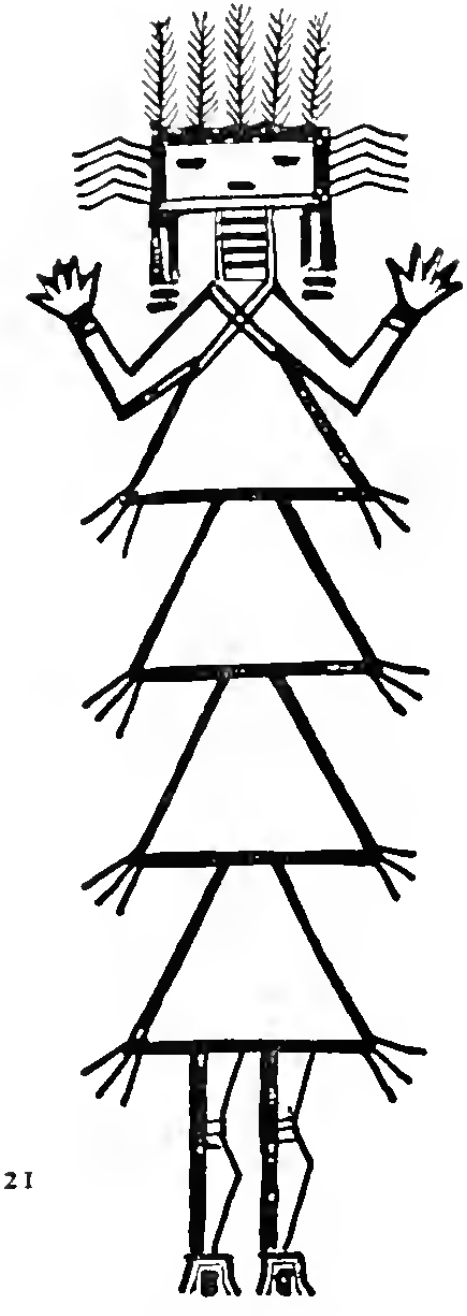

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FIGS. 18–21. 18. Bear. 19. Squirrel. 20. Guardian rainbow. 21. Mountain god wearing four blankets of fire.

the night of the fire ceremony (fig. 21). In this same painting the four sacred mountains are covered with red sand to indicate the fire potential of the trees and vegetation growing on their slopes. In the paintings belonging to the Red Ant Chant, many of the figures including the horned toad are painted red. The north star is pictured with a red cross in its center, and this is called "the camp fire of the sky." It is impossible to list all the places where any individual color can be used, but this gives a fair outline of the significance of each wherever it may be used on the sand painting.

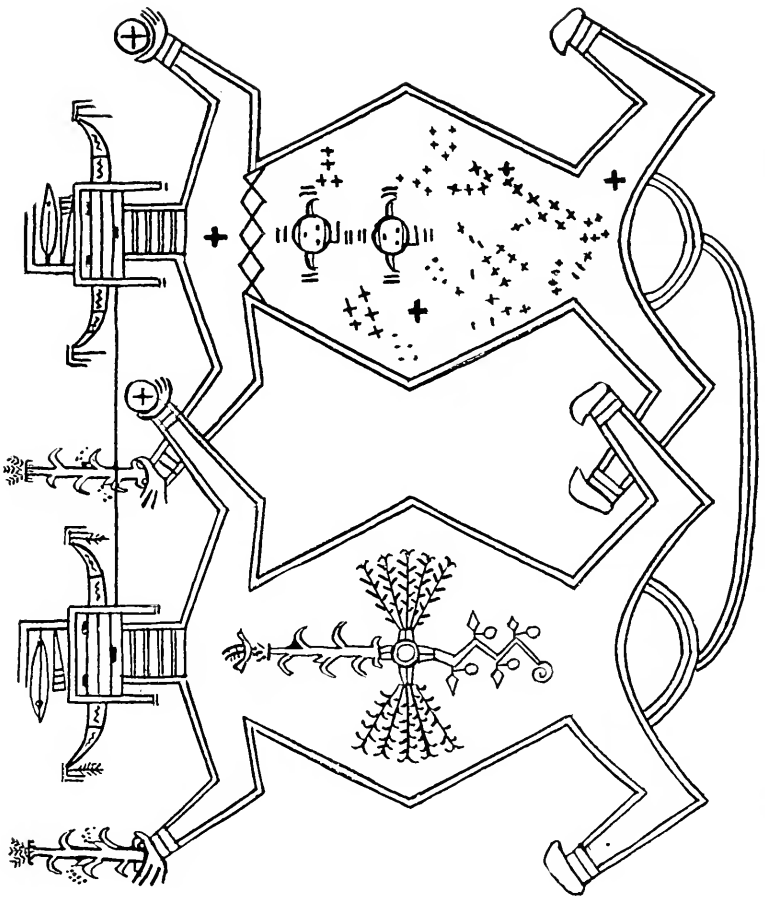


FIG. 22. Mother Earth (left) and Father Sky (right). Horns of power appear on the heads of the great figures and on the sun and moon shown on the body of Father Sky. The masked faces are striped with white (dawn), blue (day), black (night), and yellow (pollen), and the two figures are connected by a pollen path symbolizing prayer. Holy plants are shown on the body of Mother Earth, which is blue. Father Sky's body is black with stars on it.

GREAT POWERS OF EARTH, SKY, WATER, AND THE UNDERWORLD

IN THE Navajo Creation Myth there is a detailed account of how this earth and the sky were formed, and how their physical characteristics and their inhabitants were created.

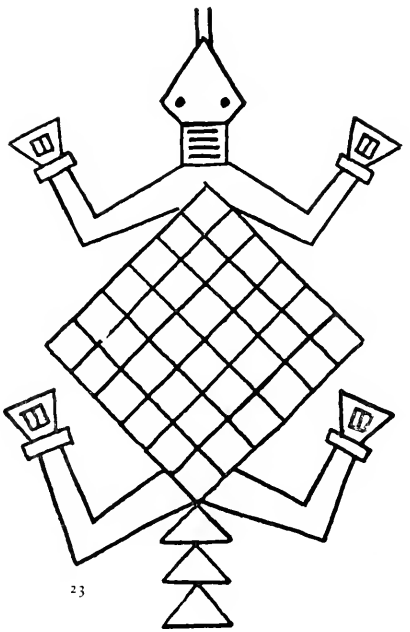
The first things used as combined symbols on sand paintings were described as being very large and few in number, the numerical pattern for each type mentioned seeming to be one, two or four. I have termed these "monsters" because their extent and spiritual power was so great as to exceed the comprehension of human beings.

The two mentioned first in the myth are Father Sky and Mother Earth (fig. 22), and the sand-painted symbols of these two follow the details of the written description. The main body of each is in the form of a diamond or, less frequently, a rectangle. Either form indicates an extensive place or sphere of influence, and this shape is used in nearly every symbol that depicts unusual force.

The earth and sky figures have arms in the shape of bows and pollen hands which carry turquoise and white shell bowls eternally filled with food and water. The legs are arcs or angles ending in pollen feet. After being shaped, the earth was spread with all kinds of vegetation which at a distance appeared to be blue, and the four sacred cultivated plants are shown growing from a central lake of pure water (also the place of emergence). The sand painting of Father Sky shows the sky covered with darkness marked with stars, the Milky Way, the sun, the moon, and bars of white dawn light. The necks of both Earth and Sky are blue columns crossed by four red stripes, and the masks are formed by four colors of clouds with black charcoal marks for eyes and mouth. A prayer feather, or bundle, is tied to the top of each mask with cotton cord, and horns are attached to the sides. These horns are half black for night time and half blue for the day. White lightning on each section of these horns indicates their power to maintain the earth and the sky in space without wings or other visible means of support. Stars and comets sometimes take the diamond form, but are not given horns as their triangular points carry them through space.

In the Blessing Ceremony a cloud power has a diamond-shaped body marked with diamonds of all the sky and earth colors. He has white arms and his tail ends in the "kosescheen" (fig. 23), a column of triangular clouds. He is the author of cloud bursts and heavy, destructive rains. The thunder bird is another of these great powers (fig. 46).

The following symbols show their use as types of forces rather than individuals by not showing feet and paws, but cloud symbols instead. On the surface of the earth, serpents (fig. 24) are frequently symbolized as diamond-shaped monsters with blue necks, arrow-shaped heads, and tails bearing rattles, and they represent the connection with the water under the earth. If personalized, they wear brown earth masks, red arrow caps indicating death-dealing power. They are also drawn with arms and legs, a cloud dancing-kilt, fetish pouch and pendant medicine bundles. They generally carry bows and arrows. In either delineation, the bodies are divided into five sections by four sets of four parti-colored lines which reflect cloud colors, and from which hang shell beads representing rain. The upper section of this monster includes the head, neck, arms and chest; the next four sections, although rhomboid in shape, are considered in the same category as rectangles meaning place or sphere of influence. On each is the rectangular home of the snake people with a deer track pointing toward the house (fig. 25). This symbol also carries the significance of swift movement in a certain direction; it may stand for physical swiftness of the deer, the wind, an arrow, or even directed thoughts or desires. On each side stand curved



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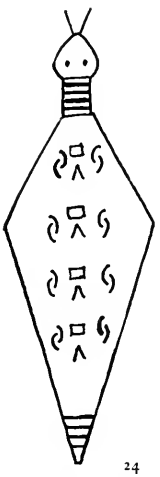

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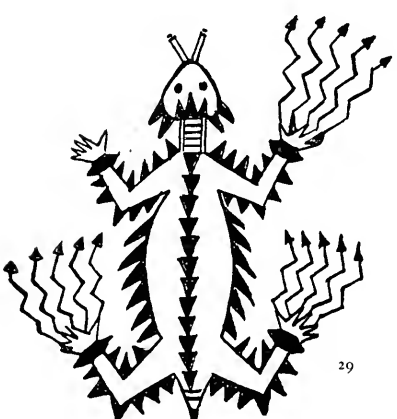

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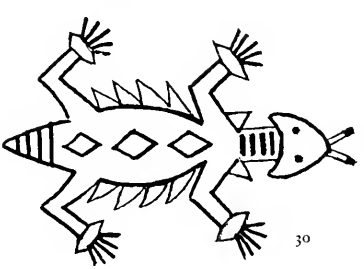

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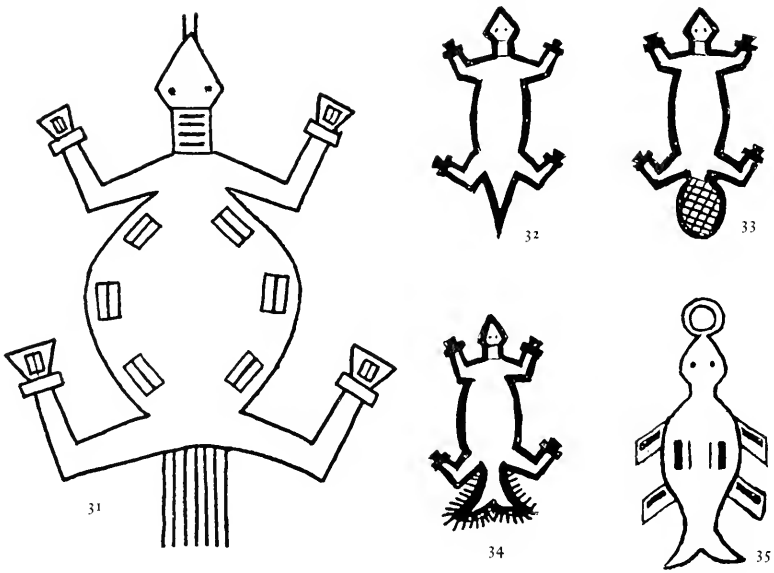
FIGS. 23–30. 23. Cloud power. 24. Serpent. 25. Home of snake people. 26. Moon shadows or phases. 27. "Jalth," the frog. 28. Turtle. 29. Horned toad. 30. Gila monster.



FIGS. 31–35. 31. "Teoltsodi," water monster. 32. "Tabasteen," otter. 33. "Tchah," beaver. 34. "Kahtsen," alligator. 35. Big fish.

symbols variously called moon shadows, or possibly phases of the moon (fig. 26).[5]

"Jalth," the frog, is pictured in the form of a monster and used as a guardian symbol (fig. 27). The turtle (fig. 28) is in this same class with the frog, as both are amphibious and divide their time between land and water.

The dark, underneath world is symbolized by two monsters, the horned toad and the Gila monster. The horned toad (fig. 29) wears armor of arrow points and carries lightning arrows in both hands and feet. His body and his head are diamond-shaped. In sand-painted pictures of the Gila monster (fig. 30) the angles of the diamond are rounded so the body is fatly oblong; he is marked with gold and black stripes, then dotted with various colors, especially red, to denote the glitter of his scales. The horned toad is the protector and messenger of the Gila monster, who seldom ventures away from his dark home. The second sight of the trance rite called the "Shaking Hand" is attributed to the power of the Gila monster.

Water monsters included "Teoltsodi," Water Monster, who has control of the ocean (fig. 31), tidal floods, gulfs and bays: Tabasteen, otter (fig. 32), who governs the waters of rivers, creeks and any flowing streams; Tchah, beaver (fig. 33), whose domain includes lakes, ponds, and all fresh water behind dams. Kahtsen, alligator (fig. 34), rules over swamps and marshes, also stagnant water back into bays and lagoons and is represented as a long oblong with oval head and extended snout. His arms are black crossed with white.

Water Monster (fig. 31) is pictured as a large white diamond with smaller diamond

[5] Like Yin and Yang symbol in the East.

head, white arms, and legs ending in cloud and water symbols. He carries all colors of rain in his tail. Otter (fig. 32) is either a diamond or a plump oblong with a diamond-shaped head, and his four legs end in white paws with claws. He is brown in color, with rainbow spots along his sides.

Another water monster is the big fish (fig. 35) that swallowed "Nilthtsa-eshki" (Moisture Boy) and carried him to the land below the waters of the lake. There are four of these fish shown in each painting, and they are pictured something like frog, only they have fins and fish tails, and their hind legs bend in the opposite direction.

Another abstract power is Niholtso, the tornado, with rain bows and arrows shooting from him, and a rainbow ending in seed plants above him.

These symbols of abstract powers, whose size and power is considered unlimited, are generally included in sand paintings used for exorcism or diagnosing, and less frequently on those employed for restoration.

SKY SYMBOLS, STARS AND COMETS

IN A land so dominated by the sky with its continuous changes of color and mood, it is not surprising that almost all Navajo medicine men of the older generation spent much time in the study of sky lore. From Laughing Doctor, who was the greatest Yehbechai chanter of whom we have record, and from Scarface, who was equally famed as chanter of the Male Mountain Chant, Klah learned a wealth of sky and seasonal lore, a part of which I was privileged to record.

In nearly all Yehbechai, Shooting Chant, and Mountain Chant sand paintings we find the white sky symbol placed in the east as this is the color of the first rays of light after the darkness of night. Blue sky is given a position in the south to represent mid-day; the yellow sky of sunset is placed in the west, and the black night sky in the north. The shape of each of these sky symbols is rectangular or rhomboid, and each is outlined in its opposite color. When a triangle is added to this symbol, it represents all the clouds that may move across the sky at this time of day (fig. 36). Quite frequently we find twelve feathered medicine bundles attached to the top of each sky or cloud symbol, and these can be interpreted as rays of magic power. Each medicine bundle is tipped with an arrow point or peak which indicates movement in a certain direction. On the white sky symbol, a raven and a yellow-shouldered blackbird are often shown, because birds are considered sky people. On this we also find the blue figure of a mountain goat, which belongs to the sky because its white fleece is symbolic of the soft white clouds of spring and early summer. Two yellow birds, the canary and the flicker, belong to the blue sky of mid-day, and the bluebird and the pine-martin are sketched on the yellow evening sky. In all of these we find the parallelogram (or rhomboid) symbolizing a place where something lives.

On the symbol of the night sky, we find patterns of stars, the sun and the moon, the Milky Way sometimes referred to as the high-

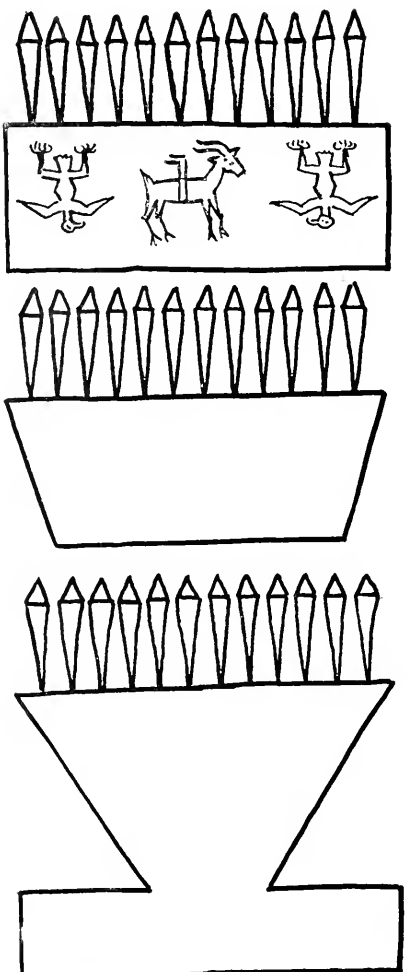


FIG. 36. Sky symbols.

way across the heavens. Even on the black mat of the night sky, the sun and the moon are drawn as twin symbols. They are always round, usually wearing horns and sometimes a circlet of feathers, and are always accompanied by rainbow spots or bars. There are a few occasions where the slim arc of the new moon is used, but the shape of the sun symbol never changes. Horns, when added to any symbol, indicate extraordinary powers as they do in many other religions.

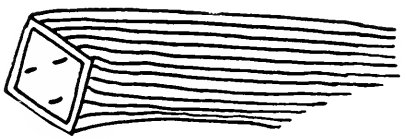


FIG. 37. Comet or shooting star.

Comet (fig. 37) or shooting star symbols are seldom placed in any sand painting used for healing or restoration to normal well being. This is because they are considered to be an abnormal phenomenon acting contrary to established laws. They are sometimes used when the object of the ceremony is to banish bad dreams or dissipate evil influences. These symbols take the form of star faces trailed by long streamers of light.

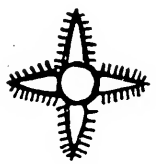


FIG. 38. Star.

On the black background of the night sky, ordinary stars are made in the form of crosses, the larger of which carry dots of red in their centers to indicate light or fire (fig. 38). Small stars are simply white dots scattered very thickly along the Milky Way and around the major constellations, but less frequently over the remainder of the sky.

When star symbols are enlarged and a few used for the entire design of a sand painting without the night background, they are seldom made in the form of a cross. The sand paintings made during the rites of the Star Ceremony emphasize stars as the main symbols, and may consist of only one star surrounded by its attributes and assistants. The shape of this large star is often square and a human figure representing the Fire God, or a Flint Boy, or one of the Twins may be imposed on its surface. So again we find the square used as a place where something lives.

I have never seen a star in the shape of a rectangle, but the larger ones are often diamond-shaped and carry figures of the black

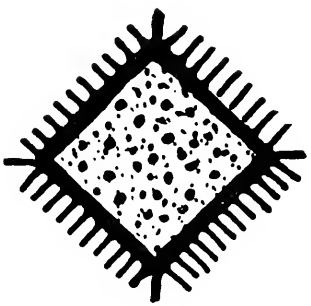


FIG. 39. Star.

Fire Gods. Klah explained that these stars were their homes where they went after they had finished making this earth and the people who were to inhabit it. He also said they were very far away and, therefore, must be very large to be seen from our earth. So the diamond takes the quality of something very large whose extent and potentialities are unknown.

Another shape in which stars are sometimes drawn is a square with points of light added (fig. 39), and a third is the double triangle which gives the star six points. The five-pointed star found in many present-day paintings is a later development possibly adopted from the stars in our flag.

The Star Chant is one of the few Navajo ceremonies in which the sand paintings are made at night. This is necessary, for the stars

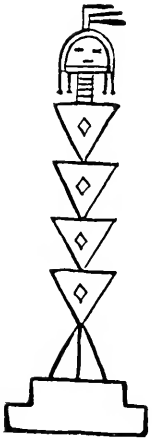
made with colored sand must be lighted and given spiritual power by the star shine of a particular star, which looks down through the opening in the roof of the medicine hogahn.

If the sand painting consists of five stars, the largest is placed in the center, and the other four stand at the cardinal points. This central star represents the largest star to be seen through the roof opening while the ceremony is in progress, and the healing rites are supposed to be completed before this star disappears from view, as this is the one being interceded with in behalf of the patient. It may also be the one that is selected for a star gazing rite.

In the Star Ceremony there are not many sky maps such as we find in the Hail Chant and in the Shooting Chant, nor are there any real constellation groupings. Each medicine man chooses one or more that he believes he can influence, and then directs his ceremonial prayers and rites toward that particular one or group of stars.

The original legend tells us that the stars were shaped by the seven immortals who created the first world. They were made from the pieces of material remaining when the sun and the moon were made. First Woman laid them out in patterns on the earth, then Fire God and Coyote climbed a lightning ladder to place them in the sky. As each was put in its proper position, it was given a spark of fire or spirit light, and it was also given a path which it must follow. The pole star was to remain stationary as a guide for travelers, for wandering tribes, and for those who might become lost on the desert or in the mountains.

Each constellation formed the pattern of a symbol, and established some law for the earth people. They truly believed that their rules for living were written in the stars. Also every form of life mentioned in the old legends had its symbol in the stars. Men, the snake, the lizard, the Gila monster, the butterfly, the turkey, the eagle, the swallow, the bear, the coyote, the porcupine, the badger, and even the measuring worm had its own group of stars.



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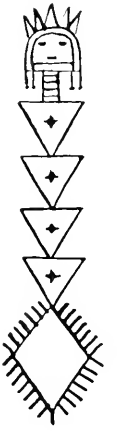

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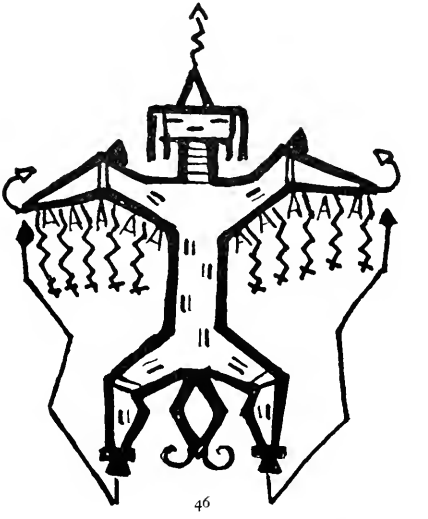

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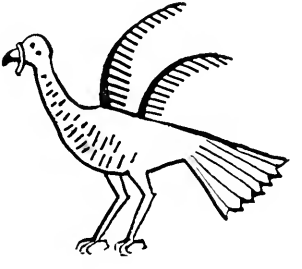

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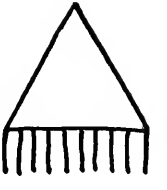

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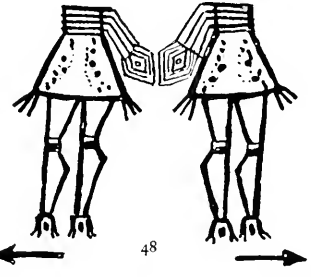

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FIGS. 40–48. 40. Clouds carrying hailstones. 41. Clouds carrying stars. 42. Turkey. 43. Eagle. 44. Bat. 45. Small bird. 46. Thunder bird. 47. Rain cloud. 48. Dancing figures.

WIND, RAIN, HAIL, CLOUDS, MIST, LIGHTNING ARROWS, AND RAINBOW

SYMBOLS representing either the four quarters of the sky, or those which are rectangular or diamond-shaped maps of the sky, are never placed on any sand painting in a position which connects them with earth symbols. The only exception to this rule is the circle representing the peaks of the four sacred mountains, which in ceremonial terminology means "reach the sky." These circles may also represent four pillars of light supposed to hold the sky in place.

In between this sky land and the earth there is a sphere that accounts for perhaps a fourth of all Navajo symbolism. In this classification we find all the elements: rain, hail, wind, clouds, mist, and mirage. We also find all winged creatures: birds, butterflies, flies, bugs that fly, feathers, and winged seeds. Another group of symbols belonging to this category consists of arrows, darts, lightning, sun rays, rainbow, medicine rattles, and even the leaves on trees and shrubs. This symbolism seems to include everything that lives or moves between sky and earth, or has the power to lift itself or be lifted any distance above the earth.

Cloud and storm symbols are nearly always triangular in shape, and may consist of just one, or as many as twelve, triangles placed one above the other. Each triangle of the painting may carry a symbol that designates the type of ceremony being held.

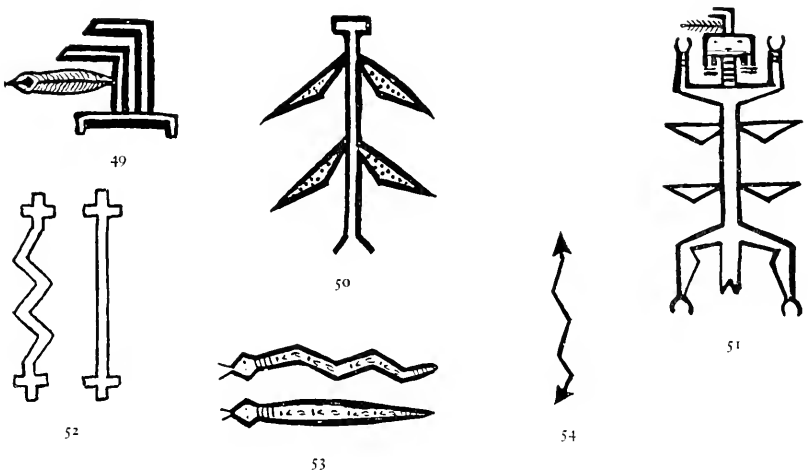
In the Hail sand painting each cloud carries a diamond-shaped hailstone (fig. 40). In the star painting, each cloud carries a cross representing a star (fig. 41). When the peak of the triangle points toward the central design of the painting, the clouds are rising from that central symbol — which may be a lake, a mountain top, or even a star.

Bird forms do not seek to depict an accurate sketch of any one particular bird, and yet to the nature-trained eye of the Indians, or to the ornithologist, every bird design carries some line or feature which gives the symbol a definite name. The swallow is shown with a forked tail, the turkey (fig. 42) with stripes on its tail, the eagle (fig. 43) with a hooked beak, the woodpecker with a crest, the bat (fig. 44), the owl, and the duck are very easily recognized; and the hummingbird has butterfly wings signifying their constant motion. Small birds such as the bluebird, the canary and the wren are differentiated by their coloring. These small birds are generally drawn with a triangle for a body, arched or bent wing symbols, round head with two eyes and a beak, a triangularly shaped tail, and legs bent at right angles ending in bird claws (fig. 45).

The thunder bird symbol (fig. 46) is not a true bird design, but is composed of various basic characters which combine to create a symbol of unusual power. The body of the thunder bird is a rectangle indicating a definite place or sphere of activity, the lower limbs are the builders "7" which hold the body above the "feet," which are the cloud and earth symbols. The wings form a bow for which the body would be the arrow. The tail is diamond-shaped containing lines of wind and rain, and bordered by a pink line representing thunder reverberations. From the feet there is flash lightning, and under the wings hang rain bundles accompanied by lightning. The neck is the usual blue column with four red lines, and the mask is determined by the ceremony being held. The headdress is topped by one or more arrow points, indicating the power to kill. A thunder bird is never drawn with the head of a bird.

Water Horse (Kahilth-klee) is made much like the thunder bird, excepting in his sketch the "wings" change to arms, and his mask is equipped with horns which are indicative of his power to travel through space — even above the sphere of the thunder bird or the cloud and storm triangles.

When the base of the cloud or storm is toward the center, it indicates descending storm or rain (fig. 47). A symbol used by the Zuni shows a cloud with rain falling from its base. This same symbol is employed by the Navajo as a white kilt for dancing figures (fig.



FIGS. 49–54. 49. Feather showing direction of movement. 50. Dragon fly. 51. Dontso. 52. Lightning. 53. Serpents. 54. Guard.

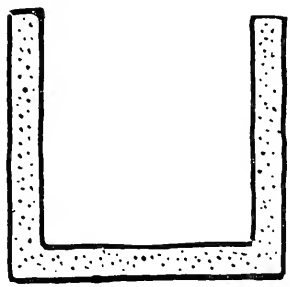
48); the tassels at the corners indicate rain, and the jingle of the deer toes fastened to the tassels and to the belt and fetish bag represents the patter of rain drops. Direction is shown by the legs and feathers on the heads (fig. 49).

Wind symbols are also drawn in the form of triangles, especially when associated with rain or moisture. And here, too, the design may consist of one or many triangles. But wind is often shown with points coming together, while clouds or storm never are given this position. The power of the wind is that of lifting and carrying things through the air, of searching for information through crevices and small openings, even entering the ear to influence thought. Like every other element it can be either beneficial or harmful; and as it is an ever-present force in Navajo daily life, a vast amount of ceremonialism dedicated to its control has developed.

Little wind, Nilth chizzie, is an informer who guides the prophets in their search for knowledge. He is more or less the same symbol as the "Dontso" (Messenger Fly), who also takes the part of informant and guide. The "Dontso," the dragon fly (fig. 50), the corn beetle, the butterfly, the cicada, and other flying insects are drawn with straight bodies, masked faces, and with the legs, arms, and wings making long slim triangles (fig. 51). The ability to move through the air seems to depend on wings and is indicated by upper arms and upper legs. For feet, they have either the claws of a bug or "kosescheen" (cloud) symbols.

Light rays, straight lightning, rain bars, and mild wind often take the form of straight lines of four different colors attached to major symbols or placed at the cardinal point to act as guards. Jagged lightning (fig. 52), war arrows, crooked wind, and serpents (fig. 53) are drawn with five sections and four obtuse angles. They also are attached to, or carried by, some main figure in the sand painting, and indicate power to move swiftly in more than one direction. All of these can be extended to act as guards around one central figure, or around the whole sand painting (fig. 54).

Various plants and vines have this same angular shape, and in a few instances are classed with the arrows and medicine bundles that act as guards. Also in the Blessing Chant and Prayer writing, the straight or angled yellow



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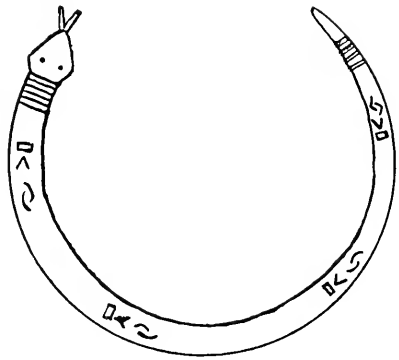

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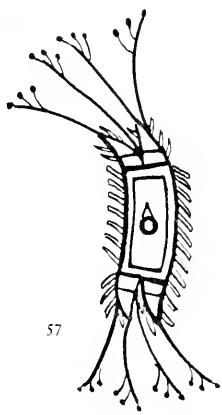

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FIGS. 55–57. 55. Mirage. 56. Curved serpent guard. 57. The sun's medicine bag.

bar ending in a cross denotes continuance of life.

The blue, red and white rainbow symbol is generally a three-quarter arc with mask, arms, legs and kilt, frequently termed the Rainbow Goddess, although it really is hermaphroditic; the red stripe representing the warlike guardianship of the male, and the blue stripe denoting the more peaceful protection of the female. Sometimes in ceremonies connected with vegetation, a line of pollen is drawn in the rainbow. The mirage symbol may also be an arc encompassing three sides of the sand picture, or it may be long bars dotted with every color of sand available, representing a mixture of mist and dust (fig. 55). If it reaches from mountain to mountain, it is decorated with the feathers of the birds belonging to those mountains, but when it is painted with a mask, arms, kilt, and legs, it receives the name of Mirage Woman.

When the curved figure of a serpent is used as the guardian symbol (fig. 56), it often represents the line of the horizon where the land seems to meet the sky. Many guardian symbols belong in this in-between sphere. The sun's medicine bag (fig. 57) made of red deer hide and holding the sacred stone pipe and the bit of rock crystal with which to call down the sun, belongs to sun ray. The bat which carries a medicine bag filled with pollen, the "Dontso" fly which has no eyelids, lightning arrows, blue birds, arrow snakes, and feathered medicine bundles are all in this classification.

ANIMALS AND TRACKS

SYMBOLS of the animals depicted in sand paintings of various ceremonies can be divided into three classes. First, we list the animals, insects, worms, and other earth dwellers who contributed knowledge, power, or material gifts to the prophets while they were studying and collecting the prayers, ritual, and symbolism that combine to create even the lesser ceremonies. Second, we have the animals whose flesh could, by permission of the gods, be used for food. Third are the animals, insects, and worms whose influence is always evil.

The bear is drawn both as an earth and as a sky symbol. In the first he is a stocky figure with blunt head, humped shoulders, small ears, thick legs, grizzly mane, feet ending in claws, center bar of red and blue that turns back above his rump, and a red symbol of his heart from which a double line of red and blue travels up his neck and out through his nose to end in a couple of white dots. This represents his blood stream and his breath.

When made as a symbol of the Bear constellation, the body is the same, but the legs and nose end in the "kosescheen" or cloud symbol (fig. 58), and he carries five red feathers on his back. His symbol is considered very powerful as are all humpback figures. The shape of the back signifies great carrying power. He is most frequently placed as a guard or as a "scare" medium, but in several sand paintings belonging to the Mountain Chant, his symbol is employed as the main theme. His color is generally black or blue, but when several are used in one sketch they take the colors of the four sacred mountains. I have never been present at a painting where the bear was personified or given a human mask. The Navajo never eat the flesh of a bear or of his cousin, the woodchuck.

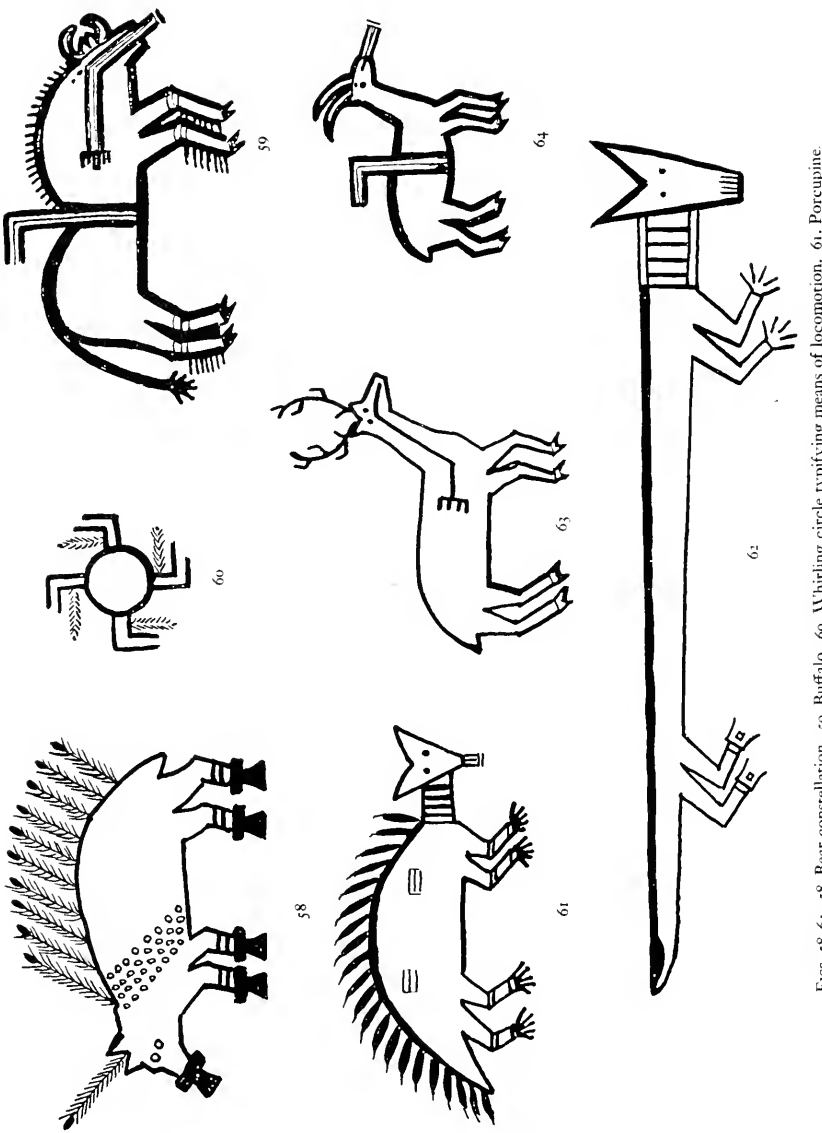
The buffalo (fig. 59) is another large animal whose size and strength are symbolized in many paintings, especially those of the Shooting Chant. His rump and shoulders form two humps, and he has a stiff mane and short-tasseled tail. His legs bend inward and end in split hooves. A yellow line outlines the lower part of the symbol from nose to tail, to indicate the pollen from the tall grass and other vegetation through which he runs. In other versions his symbol is personified with a striped or a brown mask, representing mist or dust. In this form he is given arms with hands which carry the whirling circle (fig. 60), but he still has the hind legs, hooves, and tail of a buffalo, also the divided hump. The arc which guards a painting containing buffalo symbols is usually the many-colored mirage, because at a distance the moving herds were almost lost in dust and mist.

The Navajo have no legends or ancient recipes to indicate they ever ate buffalo meat. They did send hunting parties into buffalo country, after holding the correct hunting ceremonies, to kill buffalo. These men may have eaten the meat while there, and thus acquired much strength and magic power, but the parts of the buffalo they brought home were those the medicine man desired for use in ceremonies: the horns, the tails, as much of the hide from the shoulders as they could carry, the hearts which would be dried and ground into powder, the skin from the nose, and several other portions which represented buffalo magic.

The porcupine (fig. 61) is another humpbacked symbol that is used in the Mountain Chant and in the Feather Chant. His magic is connected with his unusual armor — the thick pads on the soles of his feet, his sharp teeth, and horny nose. He taught the Navajo to eat the buds of the spruce tree for healing, and how to make armor from hides glued together with piñon pitch. Porcupine meat is never used as food.

The mountain lion (fig. 62), the leopard, the lynx, the wildcat, and badger are symbolized either as animals or as personages who wear animal masks. In the Bead Chant they are shown bearing gifts of medicinal herbs. In other ceremonies they are depicted as messengers or informers. The wolf is in this same category. None of these are food animals.

Water animals such as the mink, the otter, the beaver (fig. 33), and the muskrat are some-



FIGS. 58–64. 58. Bear constellation. 59. Buffalo. 60. Whirling circle typifying means of locomotion. 61. Porcupine. 62. Mountain lion. 63. Deer. 64. Goat or deer or antelope.

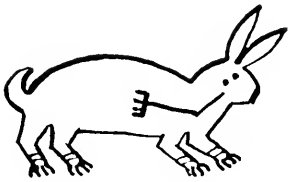


FIG. 65. Rabbit.

FIG. 66. Coyote.

times killed ceremonially to obtain fur and other parts for use in various rites, but are never used for food. Their types are included in many sand paintings where water is indicated.

The most important food animals are the deer (fig. 63) and the antelope, for these were the most abundant in Navajo country. Elk and mountain sheep were also hunted as game animals, but were more difficult to procure. Sand paintings which are made for the hunters are those made for blessing of food, seeds, and reproduction and carry symbols of all the game animals. The bodies, legs, and hooves of the deer, antelope, elk, and mountain goat (fig. 64) are all made the same, the body being a long rectangle with rounded corners, the slim legs bending inwards ending in split hooves. The deer's head is carried high, with fairly long ears and spreading antlers; its color is generally blue. The yellow antelope has a smaller head, straighter neck, and the antlers point forward. The elk is black with longer antlers and longer tail. The gray goat's horns curve backward. The mountain sheep is white, not as slim as the others, and along his back are curls of wool. His horns are thick at the base and coiled to a peak at the tip.

These pictures of food animals are not symbols of abstract powers, but simply stylized sketches of the actual animal. They all have their own type of magic which each carries in its horns. Sketches of the heads of these four animals are made to show that the immortals often appeared disguised in this head mask. Such masks were also worn by hunters when stalking deer or antelope.

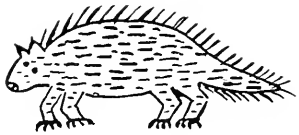
It is customary for the hunters to save the horns, and later these are blessed and used in various ceremonies. They are also ground up and used in infusion, and sprinkled on hot coals for incense or as a fumigant.[6]

There are two rodents which the prophets allowed as sources of food. These are the rabbit (fig. 65) and the prairie dog, and at the present time these furnish the Navajo with about the only wild meat they have. I asked Billy Yazi how it happened the Navajo could eat prairie dog and not gopher or woodchuck. He answered, "The prairie dog and rabbit live on grasses, leaves, and roots just the same as the deer and the antelope, so their flesh is good to eat." A conventionalized sketch for both of these is to be found in sand paintings of several ceremonies.

The third class of animals consists of coyotes, foxes, wolves, dogs, badgers, weasels, pack rats, mice and all animals, bugs or insects that live on carrion or act as scavengers. The myths belonging to the various ceremonies often mention one or more of these, and the coyote (fig. 66) is the protagonist of many tales. But in the sand painting, their sketches or symbols are rarely used. The Coyote Chant has four paintings showing the coyote and one with the badger, while the diagnosing "Rite of Listening" uses both the coyote and the dog. These sketches are made of cedar ashes and charcoal, used during the trance rite; then the ashes and sand are scraped onto a paper, carried to the north, and placed under a bush.

The badger (fig. 67) is not considered as evil as the coyote but still it is said that "only

[6] See section on "Deer and Horns of Power" in Part III.



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FIGS. 67–71. 67. Badger. 68. Star cross. 69. Wolf tracks. 70. Bear tracks. 71. Eagle or hawk claws.

witches eat the flesh of the badger." Sketches of him or his pelt are to be found in the Star Chant, the Bead Chant and the Female Mountain Chant. Weasel and squirrel are used in sand paintings as medicine bag symbols, and as part of certain masks and dance costumes. Rats, mice, skunks, and crickets are night animals and are too thoroughly in league with the forces of evil to be used in any sand painting.

When a sand painter wishes to show who or what lived on a certain mountain, or walked in a certain direction, then tracks of that person, animal, or bird will be drawn in the proper position. These track symbols are considered as powerful for exorcism as the sketch of the person, animal or bird would be. Those most often used are the pollen tracks of the immortals, star crosses of the sky forces (fig. 68), rainbow spots, human footprints, the prints of wolf, bear, cougar, eagle, and hawk paws and claws (figs. 69, 70, 71).

SYMBOLISM OF PLANTS, SEEDS, AND POLLEN HERB INFUSIONS

THE earliest plant symbolism used in connection with Navajo ritual and sand painting seems to be that of plants growing in or near water. An ancient and now obsolete form of the Night Chant called "Tohe Klehje" emphasizes this fact. Klah informed us that in this ceremony all knots used to bind prayer sticks and ritualistic articles were tied under water. The Water Chant, in which water pollen and water plants are used ritualistically, is one of the earliest Navajo ceremonies, only parts of which are still remembered by Navajo medicine men.

Willow is the wood generally used for the base of all prayer sticks, and the pollen from the catkins is gathered in the spring to use in blessing rites. Withes of willow are used in the water chant in place of the yucca strands employed in the releasing rite or other evil dispelling ceremonies. When a Navajo sheep herder fell into a flooded arroyo and was nearly drowned, Big Man Begay, who was the medicine man chosen to hold the restoration ceremony, asked me to send to the ocean for long strands of kelp and three other varieties of seaweed. In a certain rite the sheep herder patient was bound in a net made of this seaweed; then at the proper moment in the ritual, he was gradually released. This indicated that he had escaped the anger and power of the water.

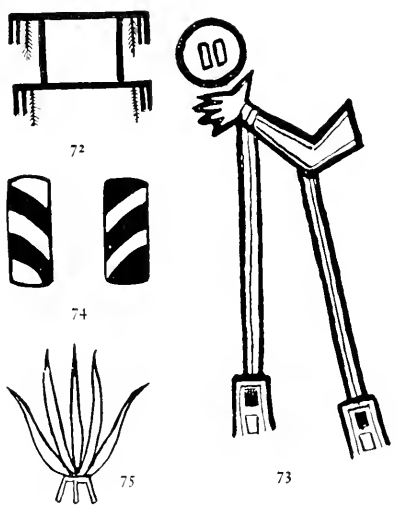
Wands of willow (fig. 72), growing at the edge of water, are gathered and dried several days before they are to be used. The sections cut from these wands to make prayer sticks (see fig. 9) must have no branches and must be free of all blemish. The bark is peeled off, one end is sharpened and painted white to be inserted into the ground. The other end is shaved flat on one side, then painted white with black dots for eyes and mouth. If there are eight sticks being prepared, two will be painted white, two yellow, two blue, and two black. Then turkey and eagle down and shredded herbs are tied to the back of the head and bound to the neck with cord spun from wild cotton.

Rattles are made of gourds or of skins with lightning arrows and stars pricked on them. On the sand paintings most of the figures carry small medicine bags attached to their wrists by cords of rainbow (fig. 73).

A medicine man may possess four, eight, or twelve prayer sticks which he keeps with his other permanent equipment, and as long as these are used with the correct rites and prayers, and occasionally blessed with a pollen blessing, they continue to gain power. For this reason, an older medicine man often sells or trades a few of his prayer sticks to a neophyte who is studying his ceremony, after the student has learned the prayers and ritual. If a ceremonial article is given away or stolen, it loses all of its sacred significance. It also loses its power if it is picked up by a dog or pushed around by any other animal. In a ceremony Dejoli Begay had erected four prayer sticks and a beaver collar outside the door of the ceremonial hogahn; then he went inside to supervise the sand painting. A couple of sheep dogs came along and carried away two of the prayer sticks and the beaver collar. When the attendants discovered what had happened, the ceremony ended abruptly and the medicine man, the patient, and the guests hurried to their homes.

Dejoli Begay was very disgruntled because he had not only lost two prayer sticks and a valuable beaver pelt, but his whole ceremony had lost favor in the minds of his friends and the community. He must now pay a medicine man from some other section of the reservation to hold a ceremony of exorcism to dispel the evil influences causing his ill luck in order to restore his prestige as a medicine man.

Other water plants of ceremonial importance are those of the cane and reed family. "Lukatso" generally refers to the bamboo which is often mentioned in the legends, but is seldom used in present day ceremonies.



FIGS. 72–75. 72. Willow square used in Yehbechai ceremony. 73. Medicine bags hanging from wrist. 74. Kehtahns. 75. Yucca.

"Luka," or cane grass, which grows in the marshy ground at the edges of mountain lakes and swales is the material gathered for making most of the sacred cigarettes or kehtahns. Every fall in early September I motored with Klah to Cottonwood Pass Lake where he would wade ankle deep into the mud to cut armfuls of cane grass, reeds, gather bulrush pollen, dig water hyacinth roots, and to pick up whatever duck, grebe, or crane feathers might be lying about. In this one trip he generally gathered enough mountain lake material to last until we made the same trip a year later. An occasional trip to the San Juan River supplied him with additional water symbolic material.

In making kehtahns (fig. 74) from the hollow cane grass, a perfect specimen is cut into prescribed lengths, some an inch long; others may be two or even three inches. These are painted with ceremonial designs and then filled with shreds of native tobacco, bluebird and canary feathers, and then sealed with tree pollen moistened with sacred water. These kehtahns are placed on some eminence and left as gifts for the immortals, so new ones must be made for each ceremony.

Cane is also used for making the cloud altar for the Tsilthkehje Nahtohe, Mountain Chant, and for the rainbow altar used in the nine-day Wind Chant. The Fire God's staff in which he carried fire from one place to another was made of cane or bamboo.

Mountain vegetation is next in importance, and can hardly be separated from water symbolism because of the mountain lakes and rills which make much of the growth possible, so I mention only dry land plants. The spirit power of trees is given due recognition in almost every Navajo ceremony, and especially in all those that culminate with a Fire Dance. In the rites which feature tree magic, the whole tree is never cut down or killed, but tip ends of branches pointing east, west, south, north and upward are cut off with a flint arrow point, after a short prayer has been chanted and the tree blessed with pollen. Before each ceremony, a special assistant, or the medicine man's neophyte, is sent to the mountains to obtain the green branches, twigs, wands for hoops, and all fresh material that is to be used. Nearly every tree has some ceremonial significance. Spruce and cedar are most important, but piñon, juniper, oak, pine, mountain ash, aspen, wild cherry, and aromatic sumac all have some place in the rites.

A great many of the herbs used for herb infusions, powders, incense, and fumigants are gathered on the mountain side. The medicine man generally gathers these at certain seasons, then dries and stores them so as to have a sufficient supply at all times.

The desert does not produce many plants for ceremonial use. Certain combinations of desert weeds and shrubs are boiled to obtain a powerful emetic, and the fruits of the cactus and yucca are sometimes added to the ceremonial "cake."

The one desert plant that is indispensable to Navajo ceremonial procedure is the yucca (fig. 75). The root furnishes the soap to make the suds for all ceremonial bathing; the long leaves furnish strands and twine for much of the tyings and bindings. The sharp points act as awls and needles for sewing, and the juice is the sticky substance used to moisten

the clay paint so that it will stick to the plaques, the cane, and the masks and body.

Of the cultivated plants, corn takes precedence above all others (fig. 76), and there is no ceremony that does not use some symbol of corn. Corn pollen (tradadeen) is one of the sacred elements; corn meal ground by a virgin is a ceremonial food; and two perfect ears of corn, bound together, are symbolic of physical and spiritual life.

The pollen from bulrushes is brownish-yellow and is called water pollen (Toh-bith-tradadeen) and, according to Washington Matthews, this was the first pollen to be used in Navajo ceremonies. It is still gathered and carefully stored in every medicine man's bundle, to bless the sand symbols, the kehtahns, and the patient when the water spirit has been angered and must be propitiated. Water lily pollen is quite rare, but very powerful for this same purpose. Another water pollen greatly prized by the Navajo medicine man is the yellow deposit sometimes seen along the water line of lake or ocean. At one time Klah desired a supply of this "ocean pollen" (Tohntyelige) so I wrote and explained his desire to Mr. North Duane of Santa Barbara. He watched the beach for some time before he found the yellow scum on the sand; then he sent Klah a pint of the yellow powder mixed with the sand and Klah was greatly pleased. Mr. Duane took some to a botanist who informed him that the yellow substance was not really pollen but minute algae that come from deep sea plants when the water had been greatly disturbed.

Sunflower (fig. 77) pollen was used in the Yehbechai and in the Hozhoni-Ba'ahd (Female Beauty Chant) before corn pollen came into general use. It was considered a powerful life-giving principle evidenced in the tale of the Bat Woman, who walked through a field of sunflowers with a basket of feathers, and when the sunflower pollen touched the feathers they turned into birds. In an ancient form of the Yehbechai four types of sunflowers were pictured in the sand paintings along with sketches of immortals who wore black masks. The meat from sunflower seed was ground with grass seed and deer tallow, molded into small flat cakes, then baked between hot stones. These were highly nutritious, and

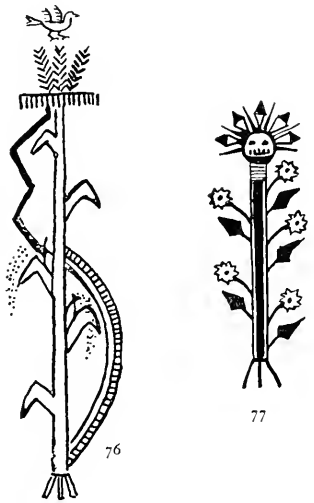


FIG. 76. Corn in Blessing Chant representing the tree of life. FIG. 77. Sunflower.

were strung on deer sinew to be carried on long journeys. This was called "traveler's bread."

Sunflower pollen is still used, but generally is mixed with pollens of other yellow flowers such as the goldenrod. It is given the general name of "bihadadeen." The seeds are still used in ceremonial foods and as a cure for stomach disorders. Mountain pollen is blue in color, and is a combination of the pollen and the crushed petals of several mountain flowers such as the lupine, larkspur, hairbell, and asters. It is used in blessing the fields, the seeds, and the flocks. Tree pollen is also used in these same rites.

To make pollen especially powerful for certain rites, it is sprinkled over birds or animals or insects. My daughter had a young northern mockingbird and a medicine man asked permission to sprinkle a couple of ounces of pollen over it. We placed a clean white paper in the cage to catch the pollen, which later was used in a ceremony held for a child with a speech defect. Pollen through which a lizard has walked is used in child

birth, eagle pollen is a cure for sore eyes, and owl pollen corrects poor hearing. All of these are called "life pollens" because they have gained power from living creatures.

Pollen is the element which brings peace and plenty, long life, and security. An incident which occurred several years ago will illustrate the confidence every medicine man places in his particular mixture of pollens. Mr. Newcomb and I, accompanied by Klah, were motoring along Highway 66 near Baca, New Mexico, when we noted a dark cyclone column twisting its way from the north to cross our route perhaps a mile in front of us. Stopping the car we all stood in front of it to watch the progress of this unusual phenomenon, when its wavering course changed and it seemed to be headed directly toward us.

Klah opened his pollen bag, which he always carried with him, and took a small amount of pollen in his hand. Then he walked about, picking a bit of every kind of plant or shrub to be found on the mesa, adding the bits to the pollen in his hand. When he had the plants he wanted, he put the whole handful into his mouth and chewed it into a paste which he spat as far as he could toward the approaching menace.

We could barely hear the low chant of some prayer which evidently was the accompaniment of this rite. Strange to say, the black column changed into an hourglass shape, then parted in the middle with the lower cone whirling away to the south and the upper half merging with the dark clouds over head.

When we finally decided the danger was past and continued our journey, we found a place about a half mile further on where the telegraph poles and wires were strewn in a tangle and the fence posts and wires were flat to the ground. To the south of us, a high butte displayed a raw gash that resembled a fresh landslide.

The strangest thing about it all was Klah's supreme confidence in his ability to turn danger away from us, and we must have shared a measure of that faith as we made no move to retire to a safer distance.

One day Klah and I rode up the mountain as far as the car could go and then walked some distance up a steep slope to the base of a huge mass of rock that capped the eminence. Here Klah placed his open palms flat against the smooth surface of the rock and muttered a low prayer that took about five minutes. Then he opened his pollen bag and sprinkled pollen up and down the rock, also in a circle, which indicated a blessing for the whole mountain and everything on it. After this he began his search for the things he wished to take home. It seemed to me that he asked permission to gather the herbs and branches, at the same time thanking the mountain spirit for its gifts.

The root of the bulrush (Tralth) is used as medicine for burns from lightning or forest fires. The root is ground and boiled to make a tea to absorb the poison in the stomach or bowels, which are distended from the poison of the burns.

The seeds of the everlasting pea (nah-oli-ilth-tai — leaves like the bean) are sometimes placed inside the medicine rattle along with beans, corn, and melon seeds to call for rain.

CEREMONIAL COSTUMES, MASKS AND ARTICLES

EVERY Navajo religious ceremony is conducted by a medicine man (or a medicine woman) who has spent years memorizing the correct prayers, rites, herbs, and symbolism; also the sequence of ritual which belongs to that particular ceremony. This religious lore when duly recognized and accepted by his contemporaries, is his most valuable asset, and he becomes one of the most important men of his community. Although he may be comparatively wealthy, owning many sheep and much silver and turquoise jewelry, his dress, when acting as master of ceremonies, is no more elaborate or symbolically decorated than that of other men who are simply helpers or spectators. The esteem and respect he receives from other members of his tribe stem from the spiritual knowledge and power he has acquired and not from his personal wealth. (See figs. 78 and 79.)

Some of the older medicine men in our vicinity considered their possessions a handicap to their chosen vocation. Klah divided more than a thousand sheep, many ponies, and a few cattle among his nieces, his mother, and his sister. Then he put all of his extra robes, buckskins, silver, and turquoise into a stout wooden chest and stored it at our trading post. Hasteen Beahle, the Eagle Chanter, gave all of his property to his sons, not saving even one horse on which to ride as he went from ceremony to ceremony.

A Navajo medicine man never dresses in weird costumes to dance and shout around the patient to frighten the evil spirits away. His role is that of a priest who knows the correct rites, prayers, symbols, and methods of petitioning the immortals and the great forces of the earth and sky in behalf of those who are ill in body or in spirit. His power is symbolized, not by costume, headdress, or mask, but in the various articles he carries in his medicine bundles, and in the herbs and pollens he has gathered for the ceremony.

During the rites of healing, the medicine man may act as the representative of some Yeh, or Hashje, or other immortal who is supposed to carry out this part of the ceremony, and then he will wear or carry articles that represent the spiritual powers of these personages. In a certain rite of the Yehbechai, Klah would don a blanket of white unwounded buckskin and wear the Hashje-altye (Talking God) mask. In the Mountain Chant Hatrali Nez wore an otter neck piece to which was tied a reed flute and many small shells. Yohe Hatrali had a white and a blue bead, and also a fair-sized medicine bundle tied to his scalp lock so that it dangled over his forehead; Hasteen Beahle wore a cap of eagle breast feathers while he performed the healing rites of the Eagle Ceremony; Dejoli Begay, followed by two assistants masked as buffalo, led his line of dancers around the central fire, chanting and whirling the bullroarer, as his salute to the fire. Each one of these medicine men selected the most powerful symbol from his medicine paraphernalia to use in the ceremony and transmit its power to the patient for his healing.

Yehbechai masks are made of white buckskin painted with symbols and trimmed with feathers, hair, fur, twigs, or beads to represent the various immortals mentioned in the myths. The shape of each mask is rectangular or round with a flattened base, both representing the "place" where that spirit dwells. A white mask often represents clouds, blue may symbolize rain, yellow is generally pollen or fertility, and black may be black clouds or night sky. Nearly all masks represent something above the earth. These are the permanent masks belonging to the medicine man who conducts the Yehbechai ceremony. He also uses temporary masks which are destroyed during the rites, and these are made of spruce twigs, yucca leaves, or bulrush leaves.

All ceremonial masks are held in great reverence and also a certain amount of fear by the Navajo people, as they are supposed to contain the spiritual life and powers of the immortals they represent. It is believed that their influence can bring great blessings if they are treated with respect and handled with the proper prayers and ceremony, but if used incorrectly they can cause great disaster.

Two other masks belonging to the Yeh-

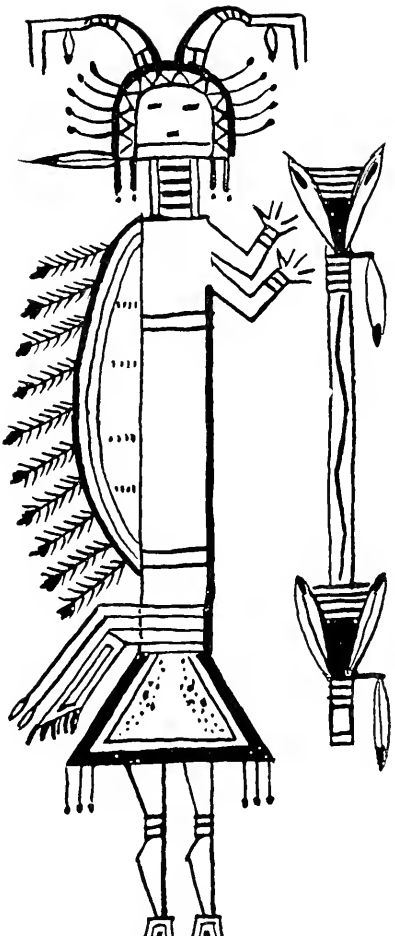


FIG. 78. Beganaskiddy, carrier of seeds, with his ceremonial cane and horns of power.

bechai ceremony are those of the Ethkay-nah-ashi, or Spirit Givers. These are very rare and their whereabouts or the name of their owner is seldom disclosed to white people, as they are said to possess the greatest magic power accredited to any medicine article used by the

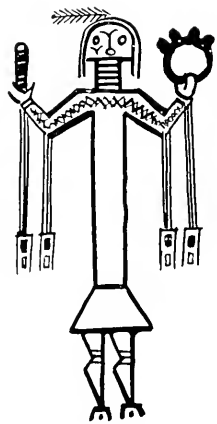


FIG. 79. Fire god carrying fire stick and traveler's bread.

Navajo. Father Berard Haile pictures these masks as being round with flattened bases, one white and the other yellow. Tied to the masks and lying around them are articles and small medicine bundles.

Klah describes these Ethkay-nah-ashi masks as being round, of white buckskin, bordered by the red life line and crowned by twelve eagle tail feathers. A line of yellow corn pollen marks the chin, the necks are blue, and in sand paintings the bodies are white with a red outline. They wear no ornaments and carry no bundles or symbols of power as they, in themselves, represent the essence of indestructible spiritual life. Their gift to the patient or to the initiate is a portion of their own bodies, which loss immediately replaces itself.

Klah said, "They never become less powerful, they could give their substance all away and still be there just the same." They are too powerful, and have not been used because no one dares to use them.

Some years ago Mr. Newcomb heard that an aged woman living on the other side of the Carrizo Mountains had in her keeping some medicine articles the Navajo referred to as Ethkay-nah-ashi. Mary Wheelwright asked us to find her and see if these articles could

be obtained for the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art. Taking Clyde Beahle as an interpreter, we drove as far as we could find a road and then walked several miles to locate the cluster of hogahns where she lived. For a time she refused to talk to us or to answer our interpreter's questions. However, they were very poor and when we offered her twenty-five silver dollars, she admitted having a large box filled with medicine articles; but no man must ever see or touch them until they were again being used by a medicine man. She explained that women were always the caretakers of these sacred things.

I was permitted to enter the hogahn and sat quietly on the north side while she and her daughter held a purification ceremony which concluded with the pollen blessing for the hogahn, herself, her daughter, and me. Then she opened a goat hide covered box and took out some of the whitest and most beautifully tanned buckskins I had ever seen. Under these were several bundles of medicine articles rolled in clean unbleached sheeting and pieces of buckskin. As each article came to view, she blessed it with corn pollen and intoned the correct prayer. The largest of these rolls contained twelve or more masks for use in the Yehbechai ceremony.

A bundle wrapped in several layers of coarse cloth and a final layer of white buckskin was opened, and disclosed two masks with the top eagle feathers turned down so as to completely conceal the faces. The old woman lifted them out of the box and held the feathers upright so I could see the masks, as she fed them white and yellow corn meal, and blessed them with yellow corn pollen. Both masks were of beautiful soft, white buckskin, not hard and dried as many of the other Yehbechai masks I had seen. One was somewhat yellow from the dust of the yellow corn meal which was scattered around its mouth. Both had wisps of red hair tied around the upper portion and both were marked with yellow pollen along the chins. Turquoise, white shell, stone pipes, decorated sticks and other small medicine articles lay under the masks. I was informed that these were the things the Navajo called "Ethkay-nah-ashi." (Later I learned that all stored medicine articles and properties which had been used by a medicine man now dead, could be referred to by that name.) Our interpreter learned that all this sacred collection had belonged to the Laughing Doctor, Nah-cloi Hatahli, who was said to be the greatest Yehbechai chanter and who was Klah's instructor. Also he was the one from whom Washington Matthews obtained the material for his book, mentioned heretofore, entitled *The Night Chant — A Navajo Ceremony*.

A tale that emphasizes the fear in which these Ethkay-nah-ashi masks are held, was told to me by Haskie Wood of Crown Point. He said that when he was a young man the government employed him as interpreter for Superintendent Stacher at the Crown Point Navajo Agency. One fall a great many Navajo sheep owners and farmers came to the agency to complain that a certain man was bewitching the children and also causing sickness to spread among the sheep and cattle of all those who refused to pay him tribute in money, jewelry, or sheep.

The superintendent called all the men of that district who had any knowledge of these occurrences to meet at the agency on a certain day. Then he sent his policemen to bring in the man accused of witchcraft, and also to bring all of his magician paraphernalia. When all were in the assembly hall, with the superintendent and his interpreter behind the desk, and the accused man at its side, the box of magic articles was placed on a stool in front of the desk.

More than a hundred Navajo men and a few of the agency's white employees stood in the main part of the room, and several were asked to testify before the superintendent and the assembled Navajos. When they had finished their accusations, the prisoner was asked what he had to say in his own defense. He said that he was not a wizard or "Chindi" person as his accusers claimed, but he did have powerful magic bundles that would do anything he asked, and he had used these to frighten his neighbors into giving him sheep and goats. He claimed that he had never harmed any of the children, but every time anyone was ill they blamed him.

Then the superintendent asked some of the Navajo men to come up and open the box but no one came, as all were afraid to

untie the knots. The superintendent asked Haskie Wood if he was afraid to open the box and he said, "Yes, I am afraid, but I will open it just the same." When he had it open he saw two white masks and white buckskin rolled to resemble arms and legs. Several of the other Navajo men and most of the white people came to look into the box, but the Navajos took one look and then went away very fast. The superintendent ordered the box tied up again and asked some of the white employees to carry it to the furnace room and watch until it was completely burned. Then he told the Indians to go home and that he did not care to hear of any more witchcraft.

I have no complete description of those Ethkay-nah-ashi masks and I have never heard of another set on that part of the reservation.

The masks and costumes belonging to the Yehbechai are frequently borrowed by the medicine men of the male Hozhoni (Beauty Chant) and also by the Coyote Chanter.

The Feather Chant includes many of the same Yeh (gods) as the Yehbechai and when they hold a nine-night ceremony they have masked dancers, but they add masks for every type of game animal found in the Southwest and a few birds and water animals. In this ceremony they use masks of deer, antelope, elk, and mountain sheep; strips of pelts of the porcupine, weasel, prairie-dog, otter, beaver, and muskrat; and feathers of various birds. Part of the ceremony seems to be dedicated to rites for the reproduction of all forms of wild life.

The animal masks are made from the hide from the animals' heads with the ears and the horns still attached. They are hood-type masks and are to be worn over the heads of the impersonators. The legend speaks of hunters wearing animal-head masks while stalking their game.

The only times I have ever seen animal masks worn at Navajo ceremonies has been on the last nights of the Mountain Chant ceremony (Tsilthkehji) when medicine men from every type of ceremony bring their groups to salute the fire. The Yehbechai medicine man often has two dancers masked to represent big horn sheep; the Nahtohe chanter (Shooting Chant) will bring two masked as buffalo; the mask for the Feather Chant will be either of the deer or the antelope; the group representing the Mountain Chant will have pink stripes of weasel hide to which are attached many cane splints, weasel tails, feathers, bright-colored yarn, beads, and small medicine bundles.

In the Bead Chant, the animal masks are evidently made from their own hides which have been dried, shaped and then slits cut for eyes and mouth. These animals include the mountain lion, the wolf, fox, badger, lynx, and wildcat. I have heard that years ago the character who takes the part of the bear in the "scare ceremony" wore a bear mask and a bear robe. But this often frightened the patient too badly, so now he is dressed in a blanket of spruce twigs which seems to symbolize the bear's pelt.

The only bird to be accorded a mask and rated among the immortals is the thunder bird. This figure is shown in the Shooting Chant, in the Water Chant, the Feather Chant, the Hail Chant, and in the Wind Chant sand paintings. His mask is rectangular and may be the pink of northern lights, the white of summer clouds, brown of earth material (these brown masks are supposed to be made of buffalo hide) or it can be marked with the four bars of light. Where a symbol serves in so many different ceremonies, there are many varieties of decorations on these masks, but I have never seen a dancer impersonating a thunder bird.

The Wind Chant has so many variations, with wind spirits characterized by different patterns, that it is difficult to describe any particular mask. The immortals who are petitioned to come to this ceremony are generally given rectangular masks of brown earth material; masks given to personifications of trees, cactus, serpents, and healing herbs are of the same color and material. But when the medicine man uses a different theme, all of these can wear striped masks. The Messenger Fly (Dontso) is a familiar figure in this ceremony and generally wears a white mask. The mask for the rainbow is either white or brown.

The Nilthtsa-eshki or Little Wind Spirit, also the Pollen Boy (fig. 80) and the Corn Maiden (fig. 81) are among the few figures to be made entirely of one color. The Pollen Boy is yellow from the soles of his feet to

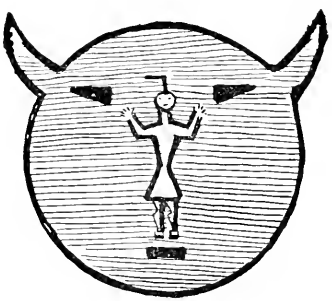


FIG. 80. Pollen Boy on the face of the sun.

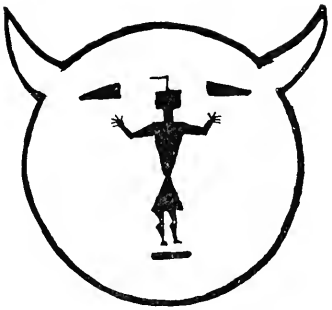


FIG. 81. Corn Maiden on the face of the moon.

the tip of the prayer feather on top of his head. His hands, his kilt, his medicine pouch, and even the strings which tie this pouch to his waist, are yellow. He is not outlined in an opposite color; he is simply a spirit force masked and entirely wrapped in pollen. The Corn Maiden is the same, only her color is blue.

The hourglass figures which represent the tornados and the little whirlwinds are much the same as the Pollen Boy and the Corn Maiden, in the fact that they have faces, hands, and feet, also kilts the same color as their bodies. The explanation of this is the same as that for the Pollen Boy, only these are clothed in the colors of light from the four directions.

Any figure representing light or direction is always outlined with its opposite color, and these wind symbols are no exception. They have two powers which the Pollen Boy has not: they can move through space and they can create a sound. So they are pictured with wind arrows on their heads, in their left hands and under their feet. These indicate movement. In their right hands they carry rattles or three twigs of the rattle pod weed which are called the "wind's voice," and represent the sound made by the wind as it travels about the earth.

The sun is always pictured with a round mask of blue turquoise; the mask worn by the moon is of white shell; that worn by the male wind is a round of obsidian, while the female wind mask is made of yellow jasper. After these four colors have been given to the figures on the sand painting, additional masks of stripes in four cloud colors are often painted over them to protect the patient and the spectators from the full power of the symbols.

The mask given to the rainbow is generally white, but its color varies with the type of ceremony in which it is being used. It is a guardian symbol used in day ceremonies and never at night, therefore it never wears a black mask. The lightning seldom wears a mask but is headed by an arrow point. In one or two cases it is made with a brown or a white mask.

BODY PAINTING AND PICTURE WRITING

THE Navajo myth speaks of the butterfly as being the first character or "person" to make use of body paint as an attraction. His brilliant colors are still considered in the same class as "paint" because they are not permanent and may be rubbed off to be used as butterfly pollen. This pollen is thought to possess a special type of magic, very powerful and somewhat evil, and never to be used in ordinary ceremonial procedure. It may be employed as one of the ingredients in a powdered mixture used to cast spells over enemies or to bewitch certain persons. The Navajo who gathers this pollen is more apt to be termed a sorcerer than the one who uses it. The butterfly is never a beneficent power (fig. 82).

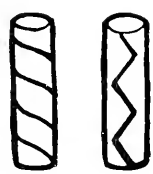


FIG. 82. Butterfly. FIG. 83. Kehtahns.

Just as grinding the colored sands to make a sand painting or the weaving of willow and reed into baskets are considered unlucky occupations, the mixing of earth colors into paint is also a perilous procedure. Only the medicine men may mix ceremonial paint with impunity. As one Navajo friend informed me, "A medicine man knows all the prayers and he knows the proper way to mix it, so it does him no harm."

The correct procedure seems to be the placing of hard chunks of red or yellow ocher, blue indigo, white clay, or black charcoal on a concave stone, then adding a little sticky yucca juice and water, carefully dripped from the end of a quill or a sliver of yucca leaf that is to be used as the paint brush. This same type of paint is used to decorate the kehtahn or the cigarette-shaped containers of offerings (fig. 83), and wooden kehtahns and for sketching the designs on masks, rattles, and altar plaques as well as for body design.

Only a medicine man or a helper who has been initiated into this particular ceremony is permitted to do the actual painting. Each design painted on mask or body is a symbol of some power or quality that is possessed by or bestowed upon the individual who is to act the part of the particular immortal whose assistance is needed. Medicine men ordinarily wear no paint, but when they don a mask to represent one of the gods, they are often marked with his insignia.

The symbols painted on masks generally indicate something above the earth. Nayenezgani's black mask is marked with white lightning. Fire God's mask has seven stars. Talking God wears a mask of white dawn light, and Zah-dolth-jah's mask has the new moon on the forehead with the full moon for the mouth. Body designs typify extraordinary bodily or physical powers. Lightning patterns on the lower limbs and arms denote speed and strength in lifting or carrying; rainbow dots or bars indicate spiritual protection; yellow and blue markings are symbolic of rain, pollen and other blessings.

A different type of body painting is that of the dancers in the Fire Ceremony of the Mountain Chant, and also of the dancers on the exhibition night of the Yehbechai. This painting has no particular form of design but the entire body and face of each dancer is daubed with white clay to represent the Nakai who were evidently credited with possessing a whiter skin than the average Navajo. Black markings are used on the face. It is not necessary for a medicine man to apply this paint, and the dancers usually spend some time decorating each other before entering the dancing arena.

Just as the colored sands which have been used to make the designs in a sand painting are considered sacred and remain powerful for healing purposes, so the clay paints which

are scraped or washed off the bodies of the impersonators or off the dancers still possess magic powers and are carefully gathered, dried, and stored in medicine pouches to be used in another ceremony.

The painting of the patient's body on the last day of the Wind Chant is one of the most important healing rites. In this ceremony the face is also painted. The Apache Wind version places a black wind spirit on the chest of the patient and an identical blue figure on his back. Four sets of blue- and black-angled wind trails spring from these central symbols to meet on the shoulders and under the arms. Then a designated number of black or blue circles and half-circles (which represent the changes of the moon) are stamped on the forehead, the cheek bones, and scattered profusely across the chest and back, but all are counted and placed in a symmetrical pattern. The arms are marked with lightning arrows with the point in the palm of the hand. The lower limbs each show a serpent with the tail pointing upward, four angles in the body, and the head drawn on the big toe. When the body painting is completed, a prayer bead with small medicine bundle is tied to the scalp lock with cotton cord stiffened in white clay. The patient wears this paint for four days or until it becomes blurred and starts falling off.

In another form of the Wind Ceremony, the blue sun is painted on the chest of the patient and the white moon on the back, the lines coming from these are of four colors. When the patient is a woman, the blue Corn Maiden and the yellow Pollen Boy are often used as fertility symbols. The purpose of painting the body of the patient is to transfer to him, through these symbols, the strength and spiritual power of the elements depicted. The inner force or spiritual strength must be restored before physical healing can be assured. Body painting occurs in Shooting Chant, Star and Red Ant Chants also.

The symbols used for recording prayers and for memorizing ritualistic procedure are not entirely different from those used in sand paintings and in clay decorations.

My first knowledge of Navajo prayer writing was acquired at a Bezh (knife) ceremony conducted by Hasteen Tso who was noted for his information concerning Navajo ceremonial lore. At this time he was instructing three young men in the rites, prayers, and legends of this chant. At unoccupied intervals in the ceremony, he sat in the medicine lodge telling stories, reciting parts of the prayers, and occasionally singing or humming short measures of the chant. In his hand he held a small prayer stick and once in a while he would mark a design in the clay of the hogahn floor. I memorized as many of these designs as I possibly could and later sketched them on paper. I asked Hasteen Klah for an explanation of their meaning and he said, "That is the way Hasteen Tso teaches his students the prayers that belong to his ceremony." I still have the sketches I made and note that his prayer writing emphasizes the stone knife, the serrated arrow point, the cross representing fire, the flint mountain, and the jagged lightning. It was only a fragment of the prayer and I have not been able to get more of it.

Some years later Nahtohe Hatrali, medicine man for the Hozhoni Chant (male beauty chant), which I attended as a visiting student and a contributor toward the expense, attempted to teach me the first day's prayer. This dealt with the hero's journey and all of the sacred places mentioned in the myth, and stated where each rite and each sand painting was originated. It took more than an hour to recite, but was not too difficult when he had drawn me a chart to follow. The first symbol placed in the east was the Hahjeenah or emergence shape to bring the people up to this earth. Then followed forty-one symbols of mountains and places of different shapes and sizes. The seventeenth design was a mountain called "Chizzie-hulth-gezzie" and here the first sand painting was made. Again there was a pause at the twenty-third mountain, "Tsolltsilth," which was blue, and here the second sand painting was spread. Again they moved on past several mountains and mesas and arrived at number thirty-three, a mountain called "Tzilth-doh-kidji" which was white with a black lake. The sand painting that was made here is still called by that name. At number thirty-nine there was a mountain called "Tilth-kayje-hozhoni" and here the last sand painting was made. Then they came back to the "Hahjeenah" symbol and here the

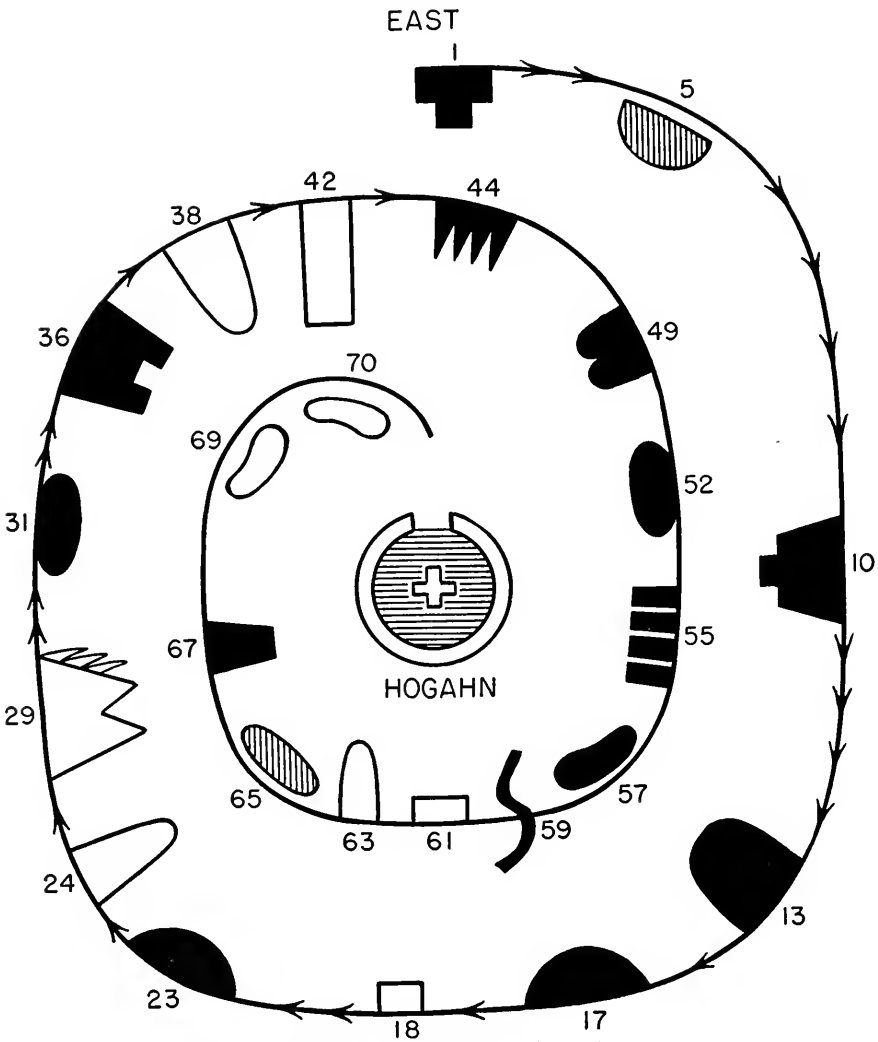
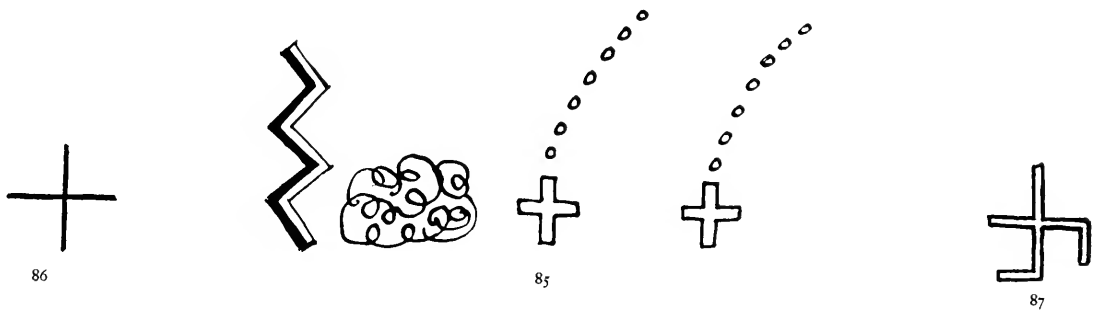


Fig. 84. Chart of hero's journey (see text).

trail went inside the first circle of symbols and began with a house of four square rooms, spotted, blue, yellow and white. It continued and again went all the way around the earth depicting symbols of places, houses, hills, and flat mesas, springs and rivers where rites were performed and where herbs or articles to be used in the ceremony were collected. The



86 85 87

FIGS. 85–87. 85. Symbolic writing. 86. Life and death cross. 87. Crossing rivers.

trail ended at the northeast corner and the last two symbols were "Sahah-nahray-ahtzeel" and "Bekay hozhon ahtzeels." All the Navajo medicine men to whom I showed this chart (fig. 84) assured me that it never before had been given to or used by a white person.

The chart I had was the one for the first day and listed all of the sacred places in the ceremonial myth. The second day's prayer followed the same course, but the symbols were of the sacred elements, clouds, rain, dawn light, and so on; instead of the mountains and places.

The third day the theme for the prayer was sentient things, the immortals, the first people who held the ceremony, the hero, the animals and birds who gave assistance along the way. The fourth day's prayer included all of the rites, sand paintings, and the order of ceremony as it would be carried out from that time on. All of these prayer charts were made in five colors.

The next prayer writings I acquired were from Hasteen Nez's nephew who was studying the "Tsilthkehji" (Male Mountain Chant) under the direction of his uncle. This young man had two notebooks filled with picture writing (fig. 85) and, as he had attended government school, he marched his figures along straight lines and kept them fairly well proportioned. He had symbolic writing not only for the prayers, but for every rite and every article used in the ceremony. His first design was of the ceremonial hogahn, then the brush shelter for the men and the women's hogahn. After that the symbols followed the sequence of the rites, prayers, and sand paintings. He had the record of the ceremony as complete and far more accurate than any ethnologist could have written it. He used no color but occasionally had shaded, or dotted, or striped certain figures to give them special character.

I spent the whole afternoon copying from his notebooks and writing the meaning and names, first in Navajo and then in English. But it was much too long for me to complete in one day and I did not go back the next, although this was the only opportunity I ever had of recording a ceremony in picture writing.

My last contact with picture prayers was in Arizona through a young man who was attempting to memorize the Apache form of the Wind Chant. He too had picture symbols representing the rites, and the articles used in the rites, as well as the pictured prayers. He had attended school at St. Michaels, and his recordings showed the influence of this type of education. The picture writing was sketched with pencil and then filled in with the five basic colors. All of the prayers and rites he had drawn in that particular notebook were those belonging to the cleansing ceremony of the sweathouse.

The upright line of the cross to the Navajo means life and the crossing line death (fig. 86). One of their greatest symbols is of the crossing of the two great rivers (fig. 87), the female river rising in the west and flowing east then turning south crossed by the male river flowing from north to south and turning west.

It is my opinion that all prayer pictures were written in spiral form before the advent of government schools and the influence of the printed page. At this period all cultivated fields were planted in widening spirals, beginning at the eastern center and ending just before reaching the last position at the outer rim. Picture writing began with the first design on the outer rim at the east and made two or four coils toward the center, bringing power from every direction to one locality.

Father Berard Haile has published an account of pictured prayers from one chant, and in the Peabody Museum publication of *Navajo Creation Chants* there is a study of Navajo music and prayer writing by David McAllester.

In closing I wish to emphasize that all Navajo symbolism is a form of picture writing which carries a message to the audience as well as to the actors taking part in the religious rites, and this picture writing is only used for memorizing religious material. The meaning of each symbol is expressed first by its shape and size; second, by its color; third, by its place on the sand painting, ceremonial article, or person; and fourth, by the signs and symbols which surround it.

There has been much written describing Navajo symbolism but I hope this material adds a little to the information that has been made available to the student of Navajo religious lore.

PART II:

NAVAHO PICTURE WRITING

by

Stanley A. Fishler

INTRODUCTION [1]

WHILE doing field work in 1950, in the Tuba City, Arizona, area, I became acquainted with the informant who made possible the viewing of many of his "treasures." Sacred "horses" and "sheep"; a ceremonial axe, presumably owned by Monster Slayer; a bullroarer; and other sacred paraphernalia, over a period of time passed in review. The informant then spoke of ceremonies in his possession, painted upon cloth. These were finally unfolded and shown to me. Upon eight muslin cloths, each approximately 18 by 36 inches, were painted in watercolor or in colored pencils pictographs for use in various ceremonies. Explaining the use of the cloth, the informant chose one of the ceremonies, the first, and using it mnemonically, traced with his right index finger along the symbols upon the cloth singing the verses appropriate to the particular section of the symbol.

With the assistance of the informant's four sons, the author was allowed to copy one of the cloths upon a large white sheet of paper with colored pencils. Within three hours, when the copy was almost finished, the first thunder storm of spring occurred. This is a problem the field worker encounters in gaining any information of a ceremonial nature from the Navaho. Only during the winter when certain of the "gods sleep" do many of the singers and curers [2] feel safe in discussing religious beliefs without fear of punishment by the gods. There are some singers who have such knowledge and rapport with the pantheon of gods that they feel safe in transcending usual procedure and speaking of such matters during other times of the year. The first thunder of the year heralds the awakening of these gods, and supposedly no information should be given until the following winter. The copy was hurriedly finished and the other muslin sheets put away, and no further information was gained from them. The cloth which was copied bore the picture writing in this paper, while the remaining seven muslin sheets still remain uncopied in the possession of the informant. The following day the informant described most of the symbols, plus what the ceremonies were primarily concerned with. No further information has been gained since that time.

The informant, John Yazzi,[3] was a respected singer knowing the Blessing Way, the Upward Reaching Way and many other minor and major ceremonies and ceremonials.[4] The position held by the informant was reflected in the many activities of his lifetime. During his early married life he primarily depended upon farming and sheep raising for the support of his family. Silver work and work as a singer, both of which he learned in early life, helped to supplement his income. As he became older and prospered, he married two more women, setting up an independent neo-

[1] I am most grateful for the suggestions and criticisms of Father Berard Haile, Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, Dr. Douglas Oliver, Dr. Evon Z. Vogt, Miss Mary C. Wheelwright, and Dr. Leland C. Wyman. I would especially like to express here my thanks to Father Berard. For many years he has assisted students interested in the Navaho and this kindness he has extended to me. I would further like to express my appreciation to Mary C. Wheelwright and the Peabody Museum for the opportunity to have this material published. Mrs. Niel Zierler copied the rough drawings and made them into recognizable forms. Mrs. Natalie Stoddard has given much help and assistance in the processing of the manuscript for publication. Acknowledgments would not be complete without mentioning my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Philip L. Fishler, and my brother and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth O. Fishler, who gave much assistance while I was in the field. One often forgets the assistance given by librarians in a paper of this kind, so I would like to express my appreciation to Miss Margaret Currier, Miss Betty Tooker, and other members of the staff at Peabody Museum Library. Lastly go my thanks to my wife who willingly gave much of her time to check tedious references and to correct errors in the manuscript.

[2] A singer is differentiated from a curer in that he must know at least one complete chant (Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, p. 15).

[3] This is not the true name of the informant, but any qualified student may obtain it through the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

[4] A ceremony is for the carrying out of a single specific function, while a ceremonial is a number of ceremonies (Haile, 1938b, pp. 10–12).

local family settlement, contrary to the usual Navaho matrilocal type. As the years went by, silver work became more important to him and then declined again as his eyesight became poor. He believed this loss of sight due to a violation of the mother-in-law taboo early in his married life.

His sons were taught to do silver work and this they continue to do. A reduction in the number of sheep during the government stock reduction program decreased drastically the dependence on this as a supplement to his livelihood. Income from farming and ceremonials was now of great importance. In 1947, the informant and his sons approached a white trader with a plan to establish a trading post in the rather isolated area in which they lived. With the financing and guidance of the government and the trader, a large rectangular stone trading post was built. In 1950, only one wife still lived, but the children of all three wives lived in an extended family settlement consisting of one stone building and four hogans. Needless to say, the informant was an exceptional Navaho.

The existence of picture writing among present-day Navaho gives rise to a number of interesting speculations as to the origin, use and importance of such devices. There existed no published evidence until 1950,[5] of any picture writing of the type herein described. There do exist, however, in various publications, some references to picture writing having been used by the gods, for the use of recording prayer stick or other designs for use in ceremonies, or for other purposes. Unless these devices, prior to this time, were kept well hidden for a number of years, which they may well have been, it may be presumed that picture writing of the type described here is a relatively new acquisition by the Navaho.

The use of a permanent method to record ceremonial knowledge is quite a change from the usual attitude and procedure of the Navaho. While the majority of the Navaho have always been reticent in discussing religion in some of its manifestations, even stronger has been their attitude toward the reproduction and permanent recording of dry paintings, and the like. This change is one indication among many of the rapidity with which acculturational processes are occurring among The People. A prominent singer in the Pinedale, New Mexico, region has been seen to refresh his memory while making sand paintings by referring to an ordinary paper notebook in which he had made sketches of sand paintings.[6]

There exist several factors influencing the utilization of picture writings as "memory-joggers." One such factor, which is recognized as having occurred in the past by many of the Navaho, is that of a "growing" Navaho religion. It has been long believed that much of the religious and ceremonial life of the Navaho has been influenced by the Pueblo people. Many informants have believed that during and since the time of the incarceration of the Navaho at Fort Sumner in 1864, Navaho religion has grown much because of association with other tribes.[7] Within recent years a decreasing number of Navaho have not had the inclination, attitude, or time to study adequately the complicated ceremonial rituals. School now takes up the time that young boys "should" be using to learn long tedious verses. Orientation toward American white values has taken away much of the interest formerly shown in the fulfilling of needs by group and family participation in ceremonies and ceremonials. This is not to say that the religion of the largest North American Indian group is being given up en masse. The majority still retains its beliefs and still spends a large percentage of its income and time on ceremonies and ceremonials.[8] The veterans, although at times outwardly greatly acculturated, still "respect" the old peoples' beliefs. And due to a large number of factors having to do with economics, social contact and religion, the vast majority of off-the-reservation Navaho return often to visit friends and relatives and to take part in various religious activities. New goals have taken the place of older ones with the influence of movies, newspapers, radios,

[5] Haile, 1950, p. 256.

[6] Leland C. Wyman, personal communication, March, 1954.

[7] This was how the Chiracahua Wind Way was acquired (Haile, 1938b, p. 640).

[8] Kluckhohn, 1938, p. 364, states that one-fourth to one-third of the total time of the men and one-fifth to one-sixth of the time of the women is involved in religious activity among the Navaho at Ramah, New Mexico.

travel, education, and contact with other peoples.

The changes in Navaho life since 1941 have been great, yet will not compare with the changes that will transpire within the next few years as contemplated plans materialize for more and better roads, schools and hospitals, raised economic and health levels, and as off-the-reservation employment, contact and living take place. These changes have already been felt in all aspects of social, economic and religious life.

Economic difficulties were met by the informant in the building of a trading post with the assistance of a son who was a veteran. Religious conflict was met in another way. He realized that his sons could not and would not learn his ceremonials and ceremonies. In order that this knowledge not be lost from the tribe and so his grandsons would know what the old Navaho believed, he had the author record a version of the creation myth.[9]

The decrease in the number of practising singers and the loss of some ceremonies and ceremonials [10] has influenced the recording of some material. It is difficult to describe the complexity of dogma and belief and the tremendous body of ceremonial lore found among the Navaho. The amount of knowledge is limited that even the best singer can acquire in his lifetime.[11] There are thousands of verses to each newly acquired ceremony and some ceremonies are not often done. My informant met his need by an innovation. Making use of exoteric Navaho symbols, inventing esoteric ones, and adding the use of English numbers, he set down in a permanent medium some of the important and key parts of ceremonies seldom practised by himself. Here then he had his "memory-jogger," not ideographic writing with symbols representing words as such, but with symbols which denoted the key concept in a verse or series of verses upon which he could look prior to a ceremony to recall the content and sequence.

Such an action, known only to family members and a few close friends, was in some ways fraught with danger. The attitude that a singer should rely only upon memory, that it was dangerous to keep ceremonial knowledge in permanent form which could be viewed during the wrong time of the year, and other factors, made it possible that such action would offend the gods. However, rationalization upon the part of the informant, the belief that ceremonial knowledge would protect him and that these were not really exact duplicates of dry paintings, allowed the informant to diverge from the accepted procedure. The appearance of picture writing of this type clearly indicates a change in attitude and values due to acculturation, as some influences changed certain outlooks on religious and ceremonial belief.

The use of exoteric symbols in this manner is merely an extension of the use of such symbols in other aspects of Navaho ceremonialism. This again indicates the great influence which Navaho religion and symbolism have had upon Navaho daily life. Many of the symbols such as the War Twins, clouds, arrows, mountains, thunder, bear, big snake, wind, corn, pumpkins, and so on, are drawn in a style similar to those in dry paintings, some weaving, basketry, prayer sticks and sacrificial figurines. The esoteric symbols are of equal interest, yet unfortunately not enough is known to explain the reasons, if there are any, for depicting subjects in certain manners. Some esoteric symbols are undoubtedly influenced by general ceremonial symbolism, but other material cannot be derived in this manner. For instance, są'ah na·γái and biḱeh xóžǫ́ (Plate XI, 8–10) make up a very complex body of knowledge, extremely esoteric, which individual singers will divulge only in old age.[12]

The knowledge of these beings or concepts, są'ah na·γái and biḱeh xóžǫ́, gives great power and through possession one may live to old age and gain happiness. These two represent more of a concept than actual gods

[9] Fishler, 1953.

[10] Wyman and Kluckhohn, 1938, pp. 5–7, list 9 obsolescent or extinct ceremonials of a possible 58.

[11] Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, p. 15, state that the largest number of ceremonials a singer will likely know is 6 to 7 — out of a listed 58 (Wyman and Kluckhohn, 1938, p. 38).

[12] Haile, 1947, pp. 17, 19–20. The spellings of native words used in this article follow the phonetic system of Father Berard in "Prayer Stick Cutting in a Five Night Navaho Ceremonial of the Male Branch of Shootingway."

with forms and they are never represented in dry paintings.[13] There is some indication that the symbols, as portrayed here, outwardly follow accepted belief. That is, są'ah na·γái in one way can be conceived as being a distinct concept having certain values and attributes as against the distinct values and attributes of bik̓eh xóžǫ́. However, these two are always conceived of as being closely interrelated and linked,[14] as indicated in the drawing. Because knowledge about these two concepts or beings is so esoteric, no information could be gained in plates XII, 5, 11, and XI, 8–10, as to what the individual symbols meant, except that as a composite they represented Long Life and Happiness, respectively.

These picture writings are representative of many Navaho ceremonies. Some of the material here points to possible future orientation in field work, such as the curing of witchcraft. Father Berard believes that all the ceremonies are inherently good, but that it is only the way in which they are used that makes them evil.[15] For example, any of the ceremonies for curing may be diverted from their inherent goodness, by placing a red dot at the ankle or wrists of the represented person, pointing the red in the rainbow toward the individual instead of away, or a number of other ways in order to witch a person. This is done to literally make you a ghost, i.e., the Ghost Way ritual. At the moment we are concerned with the symbols and what they mean. It is hoped that the sketchy representation as to ceremonial detail and the mere inferences given in reference to the symbolism will be supplemented in future work.

[13] Haile, personal communication, December, 1953.
[14] Haile, 1947, p. 17.
[15] Haile, personal communication, December, 1953.

AN ORIGIN LEGEND FOR CURING SORCERY

DURING the explanation of the symbols in the first ceremony, a myth was told by the informant which he stated to be an origin legend. This is curious, for no story similar to the one recorded in the following pages is recorded as a complete origin legend. There is a short episode in the myth of the Mountain Chant which has some points of similarity to the legend given by John Yazzi (Wheelwright, 1951, pp. 10–11). And there are some recorded as trickster or coyote stories.

As is generally known, trickster cycles appear over a large part of North America. The first portion of this myth is rather similar to those both inside and outside the area of the Plains and the Southwest. The general theme is that the trickster feigns death and returns in disguise to seduce his daughter. In the surrounding areas the following groups possess such myths: Southern Paiute,[1] Southern Ute,[2] Northern Shoshoni,[3] Jicarilla Apache,[4] Mono,[5] and Walapai.[6] The origin myth of the Jicarilla Female Shooting Way is similar to the general theme of the myth recorded here.[7] Schmerler [8] claims that although this tale is found among the Navaho and White Mountain Apache, they are rare in the Southwest. This is not so, for published and non-published material exists on the Navaho alone,[9] but much of this has come to light since the article was written.

The one version published similar to the one here was written by Matthews in 1885. The motif is different only in the following points: the mother lives away from her daughter due to the mother-in-law taboo; the mother discovers the deception; the raised child kills two children unrelated to him; warriors follow him and find him chips of wood; and on the second and following days the number of men increases and from these nine men, eight of whom are made from wood, are derived the Ute Indians.

Father Berard, in an unpublished manuscript,[10] has also recorded a story similar to that of Matthews. The significant differences are as follows:[11] the male owl took the boy back to the badger hole; each time the boy began to start to find his relatives he heard noises in his trachea, ears, nose, or his skin prickled and/or he had bad dreams, which were to be the types of warnings the future Earth People were to have; Coyote's son did not meet the ash, torch, mano and metate, bush, the yuccas, bear, big snake, thunder and wind; and the boy killed his mother and father. Another unpublished version has been recorded by Leighton.[12] The story is essentially the same except Coyote is not the "hero" and the boy is taken back by the father and mother. It is Father Berard's belief [13] that this story which tells of witchcraft was utilized as an explanation of the origin of a ceremony. He bases this on two factors: the activities described within the story take place during post-emergence time which dates it so it cannot be classed as an origin legend, and the coyote in this story is not the Trotting Coyote of the pre-emergence period.

There are several actions within the folk tale that denote association with witchcraft to the Navaho, which explains why they might have believed the story to be an origin legend. Incest and witchcraft are closely associated, and suspicion of one automatically leads to suspicion of the other.[14] Dyk [15] describes the Navaho attitude toward such an

[1] Lowie, 1924, p. 172.
[2] Lowie, 1924, p. 28.
[3] Lowie, 1909, p. 248.
[4] Opler, 1938, p. 280.
[5] Kroeber, 1901, p. 268.
[6] Kroeber, 1934, p. 266.
[7] Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, pp. 156–57.
[8] 1931, p. 196.
[9] Dyk, 1945; unpublished material in the Ramah files at Harvard University. There did exist, at one time, a chantway to cure people who had committed incest. Haile, n.d., and Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 22, fn.
[10] Haile, 1929.
[11] Father Berard's version is much longer and more detailed than the one described here. It is still unpublished so only a few of the important differences will be pointed out.
[12] Leighton, 1940.
[13] Haile, personal communication, December, 1953.
[14] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 15.
[15] 1945.

act as one of classic horror, and body contact and talk about sex in the presence of a forbidden sex partner is tabooed. Only a person with the power of a witch could send a shadow among people. It is also believed that only a witch would visit deserted or burned hogans.

There are several possible explanations for the occurrence of the "origin legend," one of which may be that this is a tale of some antiquity. Information concerning witchcraft is often difficult to gain. In spite of the thousands of articles and books on the Navaho, unknown material is still frequently brought to light. It is then possible that this is esoteric knowledge because of its association with witchcraft and incest and thus known to few. The associations between the explanations, activities and objects in the myth itself and the various symbols represented in the ceremonial are too close to be accidental. That the ceremony existed in all the details elaborated here, and that later this myth was conveniently attached to give it prestige, is possible but not probable.

It is possible that a ceremony did exist which had a number of similarities to an existing folk tale. The informant, versatile as he is, might have attached the myth and elaborated the missing details into the ceremony. Or an extreme possibility is that to an existing myth was attached a whole complete ceremony originated and invented by the informant. Haile [16] states that a man tried to popularize a ceremony he gained while dreaming in a cave. He died shortly after this and his sudden demise settled his claim of communion with the gods. While the informant is an exceptional individual, it is more probable that he elaborated on a ceremony already in existence, rather than originating a new one, if choice need be made between these.

OWL-RAISED-UTE

Coyote had a daughter and liked her very much, but not as he should have liked a daughter. One day he decided to marry her so he told his wife and daughter that when he died, a man would come to marry his daughter. This stranger would look just like Coyote. When Coyote finished telling this to his family, he began acting as if he were very sick and soon got sicker and sicker. At last, he didn't eat anything and was about to die. He told them this, "Gather together some wood and put me on top of it. Then start a fire from the four directions and go off and leave me, but *do not* look back!"

After Coyote said this, his wife and daughter began to gather wood. As Coyote had requested, they placed him on the wood and started the fire from the four sides. This is how the Paiute, Utes and Walapai learned to burn their dead. It is not the same with us, for we just burn the hogan instead of the dead. We were not given this to do and were told not to do such things. One of Coyote's sons was the dirtiest and the worst one of his sons, for he never washed or kept himself clean. As the family left Coyote, this son looked back. He said to his mother and sister, "My father has jumped off that pile of wood."

The wife and daughter said, "Don't ever say that about your father. You aren't supposed to say that." After Coyote jumped off the wood, he ran around to where his family was staying. As he came up to them, he said, "Where is my nephew? Did he die? What did he say about me when he died?" He kept asking questions until Coyote's wife said, "I was told that if I was to get a son-in-law he would be just like Coyote."

Coyote said, "I will take care of you people from now on. I am going to be your own son-in-law." Then Coyote married his own daughter. A little while later Coyote went out and got soapweed to make some soap suds. Coyote had a form like we have. All of this happened before the people turned into animals. Coyote, who was supposed to have burned on the fire, had a wart on the back of his neck. As Coyote had his hair washed his daughter saw the wart on his neck. Later she told her mother, "This man seems like my

[16] Haile, 1940, p. 359.

father." The mother replied, "That is not the only person like that. Many people have warts." But she went and looked at Coyote and finally recognized him.

Shortly after this, Coyote's new wife had a baby and she threw him into a badger hole. Coyote went back to the badger hole so he could eat the baby, for he knew whose child it was. In the hole lived an old male and a female owl who had no children. When Coyote arrived, the female owl told Coyote he could not eat the baby. The old man asked if he and his wife could raise the child and Coyote agreed. The old owls raised the baby until he was a man about twenty years old. From the time Coyote's son was a baby he slept with the grandmother owl and the old man became jealous, for he never had a chance to sleep with his wife.

One day the wind whispered in the boy's ear and said: "If you stay here the owl will kill you. You have a home and a mother and brothers and sisters. You have to go home." The boy then started off to find his home, as the wind had directed him. When he got to where he was born he found the ruin of an old hogan. As he approached the ruin he saw a black poker (see plate I, C, 6) which had been thrown away by the people who had lived there before. As he got closer to the poker, he winked his eye and the poker turned into a person. The poker turned into an old man. The poker said, "My grandson, I was to have killed you, but I will not kill you. There is another old hogan out there. That is where you are going."

The boy continued on until he came upon another old hogan. Here he found some ash and as he winked his eye the ash turned into a person — an old woman. She said, "My grandson, I was to have killed you, but I will not. There is a hogan out there. That is where you are going." The boy continued on until he reached still another hogan. Inside this hogan, was a torch thrown away by the former inhabitants. As Coyote's son winked his eye, the torch turned into a boy and all happened as before. These people did not kill the boy for he had power; besides he had done nothing and they did not want to kill him.

Each time he traveled on, he met something different which had been thrown away from each of the hogans. The ceremonial pot turned into an old woman. The stirring stick turned into a girl. The bowl turned into a middle-aged woman. The dipper turned into a young girl. The metate turned into a very, very old woman. The mano turned into a very young girl (8–10). The old worn out brush turned into an old woman. The Broad Yucca turned into a man of 35; the regular Yucca turned into a woman of about 35; the Yeibichai Yucca turned into a boy of 20 and the Horn Yucca into a girl of about 17.

As Coyote's son traveled along from one hogan to another, the first hogans were very old, but now they were getting newer and newer. The Yucca People were not found in the hogans, but the boy met them as he traveled along. The Wide or Broad Yucca said to him, "I was to have killed you, but I will not. There are people ahead of you. That is where you are going." Each of the Yucca told him this.

When he met the Bear, the Bear told him the same as the Yuccas. Then he met Big Snake, the Thunder and the Wind. After the boy met the Wind, the Little Holy Wind who was taking care of him said and whispered in his ear: "Your grandfather Owl took hair, spit, dirt from your arms, body and legs, your feces and urine, your footprint and your shadow — he used them for witchcraft. That is why all those things happened to you. You must be careful of yourself and watch for witchcraft. Build a small hogan just like a sweat bath. Don't make room for the owl or he will kill you. Just make enough room for yourself. Build a fire in front of the hogan for the rocks."

The boy did as he was told and built a hogan. He got inside of the sweat hogan toward the back at sundown and soon he heard the two owls coming toward him. Each owl gave four hoots when they got to the little hogan. Then the grandfather owl said "Where do you think you are going, my grandson? Let us go back home." The boy refused to go with the two owls.

The wind whispered to the boy and the boy took out five stones (white shell, turquoise, oyster shell, jet and red rock) as a gift to the owls. When they received the gift, the owls said no more and left. They had

come to kill him, but after they had received gifts they just left Coyote's son without speaking to him. After they were gone, the boy started out to find his brothers. He came to a canyon and below the cliff he saw them. The wind said to him, "These are your brothers and sisters." The boy sat down and watched them for they were having a good time.

Before the time of this boy, there were no shadows. Shadows came from the winds themselves as they turned into shadows. The wind said, "There are things that will happen. I will go down there and see what is going on." So the boy sent this shadow out to find what his brothers and sisters were doing. The shadow comes from a person's breath or wind or air. It is the air that comes out of your body. The shadow will follow along by your side as you walk. The shadow was black and like any shadow nowadays. The shadow cannot be divided from the body, but witches can project their shadows. These people are those who walk on the wrong side of the road — those who are witches.

When the wind returned in the evening he told the boy that there was to be a meeting. The boy went to the meeting and went into the hogan. He sat down on the south side of the doorway. The boy was the only one there with a shadow. After a few days the people said, "There is someone who sits there every evening. Let us find out who he is." The people asked the boy to come to the center of the hogan. He found that the woman sitting there was his mother. He told them where he came from and told them all of the experiences he had had. He told them that he had been born in that first hogan. Nowadays women without fathers for their children might throw them away because of what this woman did to her son.

This boy was Coyote's child, but Coyote's daughter married again and had children from a second husband. The boy's brothers and sisters did not know him and his mother acted like she did not recognize him either. They did not treat him or act toward him like a brother. After he finished his story, they said, "He is some kind of a person. He is not our brother." Still he stayed near the hogan for a while. Finally, one day the brothers said when they were alone and he was not around, "Let us kill him, for if he stays very long he will cause witch trouble." The wind heard this and told the boy, "Within four days they will try to kill you. This is what I want you to do. Make four bows and four quivers full of arrows. Hide them in the earth. Put them in a row and hide them away from each other. When the shadow hits noontime you are to start your battle."

The boy started to work on these things so he could finish them within four days. When he had finished, the wind said, "There will be gambling in the open. Do not go near where they are doing this. Practise shooting and don't play with them. They will come after you. At noon kill one of them with your bow." There was a stick standing up to tell when it was noon. His brothers had to kill him at noon in order to succeed. They did not like him because before he came among them they had no shadows. They hated him because he had powers of a witch and caused them to have shadows.

Before it was noon, one of his brothers rushed and chased after him, but the boy killed him. He killed as many of them as he could and when he ran out of arrows he broke his bow and dropped it. He ran to where he had hidden his second bow and quiver of arrows. After he had used all of these, he dug up his third set of bow and arrows and ran around the people killing them until all these arrows were gone. He ran up to his last bow and arrows. After he dug up his fourth set, he ran around the group, flexing his bow and playing like he was going to shoot. A few minutes to twelve, the boy said, "I wish I could shoot the Sun." He turned his bow upward and then down to where his fat brother was sitting on his heels and shot him through the throat, above the collarbone.

The boy ran away, for now he had only four arrows left. He then blew down the Sun. He had the power to do these things because of the people he had met and overcome in his journey. He received his power from overcoming these beings, for all of these people gave him some of their power. Nearby the camp of his brothers and sisters, was a cliff wall. The boy shot two of his arrows into a crack in the wall and there appeared a pine

and an evergreen tree and up these he escaped. It was a very high cliff. The people could not see him for now he had power. He later built a fire and cut a stick from some hard oak that was growing around his new camp. After he finished cutting the stick, it turned into a person.

The next day Coyote's son and his new companion moved on and made a new camp. The second night the boy cut two more sticks, built a fire and stayed there for the second night. The third day, they moved to another camp. The third night all went out and gathered many twigs. The bark was taken off of the wood and a sing was held over the wood and the wood turned into men, as before. They built a fire by a road and all gathered together like they do at a girl's dance today. The fourth day they started off to the Ute country to a place called Ute's Canyon or Ute's River. These people are now the Utes. They are at this place today.

This story branches off before the time Coyote started on his adventures. There were many coyotes at this time. There is a sing from the finishing of the Coyote stories. The Feather Stories or Gambling Story with a sing goes along with this story (?).

THE PICTURE WRITING [1]

WITCHES cause sickness by all of these things: manos, metates, brushes, yucca, and the others.[2] A witch might take a piece of an arrow feather, dirt from a feather or a piece of sinew, or similar things owned by a person, and bury it near ghosts or in a burial ground. If anything personal is taken from you, a witch can make you sick, for any of these things can be used for witchcraft. If you are sick and yucca is used, it can be taken by a stranger or anyone else, to cause sickness to you or the medicine man who worked on you. Witches are people on the left side while most of the gods and people are on the right side by doing good and helping people."

Plate I, A [3]

1. Thunder. The red beneath his wings represents his power.

2. Monster Slayer. This shows when he was taken to Shiprock by the Giant Eagle as he called, "I'm the War Twin," and, "I'm the Thunder."

3. "Thunder pick me up." (This represents the picking up of the Twin by the Eagle.) "Pick me up, I'm ready to go."

4. "Flying off."

5. "Flying one place (or wiggling wings), going up into the air. I am trying to see where I am."

6. "Flying away with the Monster Slayer on the bird."

All of these represent you, as the one who is sick. This ceremony is the prayer used for the sick person. Medicine is taken from where lightning strikes a rock or tree. A gift is given of obsidian (jet). Plants are picked around where the lightning has struck, which makes strong medicine. These are given to the patient and he is told to wash all of his goods in the medicine — bows and arrows, pokers, bowls, and other things. This ceremony was used a long time ago when the Twin was picked up by the bird. The Twin said, "This will be used by the Future People."

Plate I, B

This ceremony is the same as I, A, except that in addition, a song goes along with the prayer. The first song starts from the beginning of the ceremony. Another song goes from the bird to the black cloud. A third song goes from the bird to the witch. This is how the witchcraft goes back to the witch.

1. This represents the starting of the first song. It starts from the beginning.

2. Monster Slayer. This is the First War Twin as also represented above. From the beginning, the song goes to the figure of the Twin and then to the Bird.

3. Thunder. The song sequence is from I, B, 1, to the Twin, to the Thunder, to the Flint Arrows, to the circle of protection, and then to the clouds. As the Thunder takes off, he holds the Twin by his hair.

4. Flint Lightning. The black flints and lightning protect the Twin, and follow the Twin and the Thunder into the cloud. The Twin says, "Four Black Flints with lightning around me."

5. Protection Circle. The circle around the bird and the Twin is the protection given by the lightning and the flint. "Circle around me."

6. Cloud. The white spot is the opening in the cloud. The song goes to the clouds and to the witch again. The bird flies to the cloud to hide the Twin from witchcraft. The significance of the yellow above the clouds the informant refused to say.

[1] The material on the ceremonies below has been left mostly as it was interpreted and then transcribed by the author. Changes were made only to clarify meanings, as understood by the author. The direct quotations were carefully interpreted and are those things thought to be of especial importance by the informant or represented actual stanzas within the songs and prayers themselves. The numbering of ceremonies in plates I and II was for convenience and does not indicate they are each to be considered as one whole ceremony which can be done only in its complete form.

[2] Kluckhohn, 1944, pp. 89–91, gives some of the material used by witches.

[3] Father Berard, in a personal communication in December, 1953, believes this first ceremony to be possibly connected with the Red Antway.

7. Lightning. This is sent from the bird to the witch.

8. The singer. This represents the singer who in turn represents są'ah na·γái bikeh xóžǫ́ in attacking witchcraft. The red line represents the witchcraft, and the red ball the blood coming from the victim. The long red line represents, "As the song goes to sing it away." Red is the color of danger, war and sorcery,[4] but it can be used to denote protection.[5]

9. The singer. The circle represents the singer. The rays are są'ah na·goa bínaxózí·ł.[6]

10. Witch. This is the witch. The witch is hit by the lightning and begins to bleed. He falls back or retreats from the lightning.

11. Lightning protection.

"The people who are witches do not like me for I can cure those who are victims of witches and I can cause the witches to be killed in turn."

Plate I, C: Fire Medicine.

1. Hogan. This shows a hogan and a special prayer is used in case a hogan burns down, a person burns to death, or anything else is burned — medicine bag, prayer sticks, or other things. Unless this prayer is used, all of the clans will have sickness because of witchcraft.[7]

a. These are the causes of the sickness.

b. This was said to represent nothing.

c. This is the outline of the hogan.

d. This is anything inside the hogan, person or goods, that could be burned.

e. This is the fire. The black is the ash and the red and yellow is the flame.

In the song, "e" should face toward the east during the ceremony, but it may face the other directions.

Plate I, D

If a witch drew lightning on a hogan, lightning would strike the corn field, the house, children or animals — whatever the witch wanted.[8] Witches can do this with snake bites, too.

1. Two. The "2" means this is the second ceremony used.

2. Man-God. This represents the Man-God.

a. From his head is a flint feather which goes out to kill the witch.

b. From his right shoulder goes one lightning for protection.

c. This represents what the god holds in his hand — a club of flint and lightning.

d. This represents the lightning which comes from his body.

e. This is the lightning from his knees.

f. From the god's toe comes lightning.

3. Witch. This is the witch with the red designating his power or witchcraft.

4. A bow.

a. The string of the bow.

b. The back of the bow.

c. This represents, "A long time ago when the gods were created."

5. Lightning Arrow. If a witch came to your camp he could take a feather from your arrow for use in witchcraft. These witches take the bow outside somewhere. The objects from four onward, the singer uses in a Five Night Sing to cure sickness.

6. Poker. The poker is hidden so that the witch will not find it and make the sick person die. Any of these from the bow to the yucca can be sung over by a witch to make people die. These objects were used for a Five Night Sing.

7. Torch. The torch is made out of cedar (actually juniper) bark and wrapped as tightly as possible and tied with bark. Used in this way, it will last a month. Long ago these were used as matches.

8. Ash. If a witch found some ash from a dead person's hogan, he could use it to cause people to die. Any of the other objects can also be used in this way. Even things that you have touched can be taken and given to a

[4] Reichard, 1950, pp. 198, 200.

[5] Reichard, 1950, p. 199. Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 17, states that all of his informants denied red as being associated with witchcraft.

[6] Although this term is similar to są'ah na·γái, which is to live to old age, it means the fear of dying before your time — with witchcraft implied. Fishler, 1953, p. 44, fn.

[7] Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, p. 57, note a separate ceremony similar to this one, which is called Fire Medicine.

[8] Haile, 1950, p. 195, suggests that perhaps it is merely the thought behind the action which is the important thing in witchcraft.

č'į·di· or buried in a graveyard. That is why such people have to later have sings held for them.

9. Ceremonial pot. This is a ceremonial pot with a stirring rod. The stirring rod is made of Black-Four-Leaf-Bush.

10. Bowl. This is a bowl made of clay.

11. Dipper. This is a dipper made from a gourd. No ceremonials are done over pots or dippers (?).

12. Mano and metate of a man. There is no ceremony over these either (?).

13. Brush. This is used to brush off the metate, after the corn is ground. This brush is made from a grass.

14. Broad Yucca. The red part represents the red roots of the Broad Yucca.

15. Ordinary or slender yucca. The blue part represents the blue roots of the ordinary yucca.

16. Yeibichai Yucca or Yucca of the gods. The red part represents the red roots of the yeibichai.

17. Horn Yucca. The blue part represents the blue roots of the Horn Yucca.

18. Bear.[9] He has a red mouth for as he gets angry he opens his red mouth. This is the ordinary bear which guards the Sun's house. The bear is now a god, for he has been changed. Beneath the Black Bear are the colors of the bears of the four directions: black, gray (or blue), yellow, and white. Witches will say that the Black Bear will go and bite people, hurt them or kill them. A singer may pray to this bear for protection from witches. He will say: "Big Black Bear, at the eastward, with the bear pollen, lying over there, I will give you this gift for my protection (turquoise and rust, a specular iron ore). Here is my gift to you for your power. A witch told me that the bear will bite me, but this will not happen. Black Bear, get up before me for my protection. Black Bear, get up before me with your black flint shoes. Black Bear, get up before me with your black flint stockings. Black Bear, get up before me with your black flint clothing. Black Bear, get up before me with your black flint cap." The bear will hear this prayer, for the wind will tell him.

19. Serpent or Big Snake. On his back are two boxes. The first represents his home. The inverted V's are the tracks of the deer and antelope. The red spot on the forehead of the Big Snake is a whistle, like the one at Tuba.[10] This makes the earth move. According to the story (i.e., the informant's story), the Big Snake stays inside his hole and "sucks people to him."[11] The deer or other animals may be a long way off and the Big Snake will draw them closer and closer until they go faster and finally run to the Big Snake. There is a Big Snake near Fort Defiance. It is over three feet long and has the power to eat animals whole. When he eats a deer, he gets big enough to swallow him. The colors beneath Big Snake represent the snakes of the four directions. He, too, guards the Sun's house.

20. Thunder. This is Thunder. Beneath his arms (red) is his power. He also guards the Sun's house and he is now a god. Beneath the Thunder are the colors of the main Thunders of the four directions.

21. The Wind. This is the Wind or Tornado. He, too, is a guardian at the Sun's house. Beneath this god are the colors which represent the gods of the four directions. Above the head of this god are two triangles which show him to be the Wind and which represent the clouds. A witch will say, "Tornado pick that man up."

22. You. This represents you!

a. Your hair.[12]

b. Your face and your eyelashes, or dirt, spittle or any water used to clean your face.

c. This is your arm and the dirt which comes from it.

d. This is your body and legs and the dirt from them.

e. This is your waste — urine and feces.

f. This is your footprint.

g. This is your shadow and a witch could steal it from you.

[9] Some readers may notice that there are details in the representations of the bear, big snake, thunder, and others, which vary from one ceremony to the next. This is the way in which they were represented in the informant's original drawings and it has no significance other than that no effort was made to make the pictographs similar.

[10] At Tuba City, Arizona, is a government heating and power plant which has a steam whistle.

[11] Hill, 1938, pp. 113–17.

[12] These hairs should actually number only 7 instead of 11.

All of these things can be taken and used by a witch to make a person ill and sick.

23. These are all of the things combined which can kill you. The various colored lines represent *everything* that can be used. The circle represents the earth — everything on the earth. The yellow cross represents nothing.[13] Because of these things a witch may pray that you be killed by anything — a horse, rock, sheep and so on. Many colors are used because the witch can use anything to make someone sick.

24. Witch (red).

a. This means that he is crying because of what has been done to him with this ceremony. Big Snake was beaten by this power (the ceremony).

b. The songs and prayers go from the head to the toes, and the witch's power goes back to his heart or has been reversed on him (the usual order of sequence has been reversed to nullify the witchcraft and to send it back to the witch).

c. "A long time ago when a witch used this power on me and now it goes into his heart."

d. The circle represents the power that has been encircled or turned back to him (the witch).

25. The witch has died and gone far under the north pole to the "č'i·di·" land.

26. The prayer goes: "Witchcraft went behind the red world and red heaven."

a. Red Heaven.

b. Red Earth.

c. The entrance or door.

The witch is blocked in and no longer can use his power.

27. This is the witch Coyote who comes up in front of the witch to block him. The witch and Coyote ordinarily are friends, but because of these songs and prayers, Coyote must block the witch.

28. Squeaking Pinyon Jay. He is a friend of witches. He also must block the witch because of the songs and prayers (i.e., because of this ceremony Squeaking Pinyon Jay is forced to fight against the witchcraft).

29. Big Red Star — Coyote's Star.[14] This star is seen only during the summer. Big Red Star is a god, for when a witch says something will happen to someone due to this star, it will happen. He, too, must block the witch because of this ceremony.

30. Red North Star. This star is evil. He, too, must block the witch.

31. Black North Star. He is our friend for he helps us. There are these two north stars: one good and one evil, but both live in heaven and not on the stars themselves, for they are gods.

32. Curing Bear, a good bear. Now as we travel back (i.e., from the first line to the second and right to left), we start to cure the patient. The Black Bear is first and the Blue Bear is second. In the sing the reverse is true, for you sing to the Blue Bear first and the Black Bear second, saying as before (plate I, D, 18): "Big Blue Bear to the eastward, etc., etc."

33. Curing Big Snake. He is of two colors, which are represented as before. The tongues and the red color represent the power to swallow witchcraft as is shown above.

34. Curing Thunder. He is also of two colors and is the same as above.

35. Wind. He is of the two colors and is the same as the others. Only two Curing Bears, Big Snakes, Thunders and Winds are used, instead of four, because sometimes people pray only to one god or two instead of all four. This has been done from the beginning. These are sung in the Opposite ways so that the power of the witch will be reversed back to him; so that he will die instead of his victim.

36. Mirage Stone. The lines represent what the lines actually look like in the real stone. These are actually gods and are prayed to, as are the Bear, Big Snake, Thunder, the Wind and other gods: "Black Mirage Stone, get up before me, etc."

37. Mirage Stone Powder. He is also a god. He is prayed to, as are the others, to stop witchcraft.

38. Emergence — Upward-Reaching-Way.[15]

[13] The informant was very emphatic about this.

[14] Haile, 1947, p. 8.

[15] This is a small ceremony which may be given separately. The names which are given for the majority of the following ceremonies are hypothetical and not actually known. Father Berard, Dr. Wyman and the author agree as to these names being possibly

(*Continued on p. 64.*)

a. The ladder or cane coming from the earth, which ended all revelations.[16]

b. The dark circle is the hole of emergence.

c. The yellow represents the pollen used to pray over the hole of emergence. "Even today, we (the informant and author) could go and pray over this and give pollen for our good health."

39. Black Owl. He is a god and is a fortune teller who tells you what will happen in the future.

40. Blue or Gray Owl. This whole ceremony is called Owl-Raised-Ute, or it is sometimes called Two-Days-with-the-Owl story. There are few singers who know this.

41. Gifts. These are gifts which are given to the Owl nowadays in return for what he tells:

a. Turquoise.
b. White Shell (bead).
c. Oyster Shell.
d. Black Obsidian (jet).
e. Gray Obsidian.

There are prayers said over all of these, as before.

Plate II: Branch of the Big Starway.

These figures represent certain gods:

1. Monster Slayer. Above his head is darkness.

2. Dawn. The yellow represents the sunlight.

3. Sun.

4. Moon.

5. a. This is the North Star. Big Dipper.[17]

6. Big Star (Scorpio). There is a Black and a Blue Big Star: "Black and Blue Stars down toward the south."[18]

7. Little stars, black and blue, or slim first one (part of Orion).[19] "Little black and blue stars down toward the south."

8. a. Black Big Star is in the southeastern heavens.[20]

b. Gray (dark) Big Star.[21]

c. Blue Big Star is in the northern skies.[22]

d. Yellow Big Star is in the southern skies.

e. White Big Star, "igniter of thunder," is near the center of the skies.

f. Silver (red?) Big Star, "igniter of flash lightning," is in the southwestern skies.

(*Continued from p. 63.*)

the right ones, based upon the descriptive material within each ceremony. Father Berard Haile, 1938a, pp. 640, 641, has pointed out that an entire ritual may be shared in common by several chantways. The popular and strong ceremonials grow as the weaker ones are absorbed into the repertory of the stronger one. This apparently also accounts for the extinction of chantways. Added to this difficulty of identification is the problem of chants having two or more names, besides an occasional nickname.

[16] This refers to White Shell Woman or White Bead Woman going to the west, at which time the gods said they would not be in direct contact with the Earth Surface People any longer. Fishler, 1953, p. 92.

[17] Haile, 1947, p. 4. In this drawing, by the informant, there are less stars than actually exist in the Big Dipper, but the pattern is such that the Big Dipper as a part of Ursa Major is recognizable. Dr. Vogt, in a personal communication, has reminded me of several factors which may influence the apparent differences between the description by my informant and those represented by Father Berard, Dr. Tozzer, and the actual positions. Those Navaho who do know star lore, divide the heavens differently from one another, with few representations being as they actually exist in the heavens. Also to fulfill the purpose of the picture writing the ones made by my informant did not have to be exact replicas to fulfill their purpose.

[18] Haile, 1947, p. 7, notes that this star represents First Man, who was the author of witchcraft, in human form. The number of stars represented here are fewer in number than actually exist, but some similarities are found. In the drawing, the constellation Hyades, lacking two stars, is an addition to Orion. Although lacking these two stars, the drawing is very similar to Tozzer's (1908, p. 31) rattle marking nomenclature, rather than the actual appearance, but Hyades is more similar to the actual appearance of the stars. Haile's data do not agree with Tozzer and he believes Hyades and Pleides are assigned to Orion due to ritualistic significance.

[19] The drawing of Orion, Scorpio and Ursa Major follow the Navaho custom of representing human parts, feet, arms, head, etc., in Haile, 1947, p. 7. However, the drawing here, follows Tozzer's drawings, 1908, p. 31, more than they do Haile's.

[20] Haile, 1947, p. 8. Little has been published on the Big Starway. Without more information it is difficult to tell whether this ceremony is a part of it or not. Many similarities exist, the names of the constellations and other stars, with the exception of Gray Star; Thunder; Big Snake; Wind Bear; Big Star; one of the War Twins; and the use of five stanza songs.

[21] This star is not noted in Haile, 1947.

[22] Haile, 1947, does note the stars in 8c, d, e, f.

g. This is said to represent nothing.

h. Five. This represents the five stars, with five stanzas (above numbers a, c, d, e, f).

i. This is the singer; as he sings he uses these figures. He sings: "I am a Black Big Star, War Twin, etc."

j. Seven Stars (Pleiades).[23]

k. These colors represent the colors of the stars.

9. a. This represents the five stanzas used in this ceremony.

b. This represents the same star as above, Black Big Star.

c. Monster Slayer.

10. Blue (green) Star. This has five stanzas. These are the same as above.

11. Yellow Star. This also has five stanzas.

12. White Star. The White Star has five stanzas.

13. Pronged Star. This has five stanzas up in the sky.[24]

14. Silver Star. This has five stanzas.

15. The informant claimed this represented nothing, but is used merely to tell the order of the verses. One at first might wonder at this, but a similar explanation of its purpose was given at the end of the ceremony (number 26).

16. Wind. This is the Wind with all five stanzas telling about the black, blue, yellow, white and silver Wind.

17. Thunder. This is the Thunder with five stanzas telling about the black, blue, yellow, white and silver Thunders.

18. Big Snake. This is the Big Snake with five stanzas telling about the black, blue, yellow, white and silver Big Snakes.

19. Bear. This is the Bear with five verses telling about the black, blue, yellow, white and silver Bears. The red on his back represents the power of the Bear.

20. Monster Slayer.

a. "Big Star above his head."

b. "Lightning from his head."

c. "Lightning from his hand."

d. "Lightning from his knee."

e. "Lightning from his feet."

21. Hand of the Twin. This holds his shield.

22. These are the same and are used as protection by the Twin. The Twin said, "Power holding the shield in front of me," i.e., a protection shield.

23. Thirteen. This is the name of it (?).

24. "Enemies falling away," and, "Enemies dying from witchcraft."

25. Shield of Protection. This is as in number 22. This means, "The red (witchcraft) will bounce off the shield." The ceremony itself is the shield, which deflects danger, evil or witchcraft.

26. Beginning of ceremony. This shows the beginning of the ceremony and the end.

27. Hogan. This represents the hogan where the ceremony is to take place. The singer symbolically goes out to the east, where the first red dot is shown, and prays. He then goes out to the south and prays; goes to the west and prays and then goes out to the north twice and prays. The five stanza prayer of "9" is used when to the east, at the red dot. To the north are used the stanzas of "10" on the red dots. On the west is used "11" and on the north are used the prayers of "12" and "13."

The red in the diagram represents witchcraft or the evil spirits against the sick person. Numbers 14 and 15 are used at the hogan also, as are 23 and 26, which are the same. The

[23] Haile, 1947, p. 9. The informant specifically mentioned seven stars, but of course, only six are visible in the sky. Upon the cloth were eight stars. The informant followed the distribution of the actual representation, as is shown in Tozzer, 1908, p. 31, but with two additional stars. Nor does the informant's distribution follow that used on the mask of the Black God as shown in Haile, 1947, p. 3. The difference may be explained in several ways: (1) extensive knowledge of star lore is not esoteric; (2) miscopying on part of the author; (3) accurate reproduction by informant is not important since symbols are mnemonic; (4) ceremonial restrictions. Father Berard Haile, 1947, p. 11, adds that difficulty in identifying the star is because verifications can be made only during certain months and the tendency is to find the figure represented in star groups, so a larger area must be included in order to accommodate all of the stars. The informant follows Tozzer's belief, of eight stars without the additional five of Haile's, 1947, p. 11, to complete the Pleiades, Haile, 1947, p. 12.

[24] This is also called White Star, but differs from the above, which is probably the morning or evening star. Haile, 1947, p. 7. Although the number five is rather ambivalent in that it can be associated with the practice of witchcraft, it is as often used in the curing of witchcraft. Reichard, 1950, pp. 244–47.

black dots represent the singer battling the witchcraft. The red lines represent the action and thoughts of witchcraft by a witch. The dark lines represent the action and thoughts of the singer to counteract the witchcraft. Since there are two thoughts or actions, two prayers are used against the witchcraft. To the north are two dark lines. In case there is trouble and the first prayer does not work, "14" is used to supplement the ceremony. All of this is done while all the prayers are being said.

The good people and the good singers like these ceremonies, one and two, for they destroy evil.

Plate III [25]

This ceremony is something like the one with Thunder (Ceremony I), but the Bear is prayed to here.

1. Bear. This is the bear, "All of the Bear."
2. Mountain. This is the mountain by Fort Defiance, č'óšgai — white spruce — the Chuska Range. This where the War Twins spent the night with the bear. Afterwards the Twins said, "This will be used in future times," i.e., the information gained while with the bear.
3. Sun.
4. East. This line represents the east, where the Sun comes up. "Under, toward the east, a Black Bear lying. I need your protection."
5. Witch.
6. Power. This is the power of the witch and what he thinks.
7. Connecting the witch. This line is from the witch: "As he cries."
8. Suffering. "The witch as he suffers."
9. Dying. The witch dies, ". . . and as he finally dies because of the power of this ceremony." There are many verses to this ceremony as the witch suffers, cries, and finally dies.
10. Gifts. These are the gifts of the white shell, turquoise, oyster shell and jet given to the Bear, Big Snake, Thunder and the Wind, for their help and power. Blue pollen [26] is also given, so as to not let the witchcraft take place.
11. The First Twin or the Second Twin. This represents the First or Second Twin, with lightning and flint from his head, shoulders, hand, knee and foot. As you pray to the Bear, you say, "I am the First War Twin, etc." As you pray to the Big Snake, you say, "I am the Second War Twin." Praying to the Thunder, you say, "I am the First War Twin," and praying to the Wind you say, "I am the Second War Twin."
12. Singer. This shows the singer acting as the War Twin, shooting lightning: "Protection of lightning and flint around me."
13. Colors of Bears. These are the four colors of bears: black, gray (blue), yellow and white.
14. These four represent the four lightnings. The flint, added to these which the Twin has, makes five stanzas in all.
15. Big Snake. This is the Big Snake of four colors.
16. Home. This is where the Snake lives.
    a. Cliff. This is a cliff or rock wall.
    b. Singer. This is the singer.
17. Thunder. This is the Thunder of four colors.
18. Clouds. These are Clouds where the Thunder goes for protection from witchcraft. The Thunder and the Clouds always go together.
19. Wind. This is the Wind of the four colors.

Plate IV: Blessing Way.

Sometimes a person will learn too much or gain too much power. He may get stiff when he is being sung over or when he is hearing stories. He may get anxious or worry over stories and thus get sick. When this happens, this ceremony is held.

1. Talking God. On his head are "live" eagle feathers.
2. Black Mountain. This is Pelado Peak, to the east.
3. Corn Pollen. Inside the mountain is corn pollen.
4. Doorway to Mountain. This is the trail or doorway of the mountain. The mountain is like a hogan and one can go in or out. The pollen shown is that used during the ceremony inside the hogan.

[25] This chantway is unrecognized, but it is not a part of the Blessing Way.

[26] Wyman and Harris, 1941, p. 32.

5. Pollen Footprint. This is the pollen footprint of the person who is sick.

6. Pollen Fingerprints. These are the pollen fingerprints of the person who is sick. These pollen prints are made from pollen during the ceremony.

7. Pollen Sitting Print. This is a pollen sitting print made during the ceremony.

8. Pollen Trail. This is like a trail going any place — home, on a trip, hunting or anywhere.

9. Long life. This is są'ah na·γái: "I am immortal (have long life) until the time I will die of old age."

a. This connects the two together, są'ah na·γái and bikeh xóžǫ́.

10. Happiness or bikeh xóžǫ́.

11. This is also part of bikeh xóžǫ́.

After this ceremony is done over you, all people will be friendly and no one will witch you.[27]

Plate V

This is a short ceremony for protection against witchcraft. The singer may pray to protect himself or to protect the patient. The patient can decide whether he wants this prayer or not during a ceremony.[28]

1. Sun.

a. The lines represent the direction, east.

2. Gifts. These are gifts which are given to the Bear, Big Snake, Thunder and the Wind.

3. Bear. This is the Bear and the colors beneath represent bears of the four directions: the Black Bear of the east, the blue one to the south, yellow to the west and the White Bear to the north.

4. Big Snake. This is the Big Snake with four colors.

5. Thunder. The four colored Thunders are represented here.

6. Wind. The Wind of four colors or directions.

Plate VI [29]

If a person is hurt under the heavens or on the earth, there is a ceremony which can be held to cure him. If a person has Mirage Rock in his medicine bag and it is broken, he must give a gift before he can fix it. If you get hurt in the horizon where there is a mirage, a gift of the five (white shell, turquoise, oyster shell, jet and red stone) will cure you. If a singer knows such prayers he can cure a sick person from these causes.

1. Earth. This is the earth. Inside the earth are twelve colors, but only four need to be used in this ceremony. Beneath the earth are the four colors. The things inside the earth are plants, trees, flowers — just to show that this represents the earth.[30]

2. Heaven Black. This is the Black Heaven. The informant stated that there was no special reason for the red or yellow around heaven.

3. Mirage Rock. This is Mirage Rock with all the four colors: Black Mirage Rock, Blue, Yellow and White Mirage Rock. The yellow and black lines show this to be Mirage Rock.

4. Mirage God. You can pray for help: "Black Mirage, rise before me so no enemy will see me. Can you see anything beyond me?"

A gift of the five must be given to the earth or heaven for help and protection.

Plate VII: A Self-Protection Prayer.[31]

1. Witch. This is the witch and the red coming from him is his power or thoughts.

2. Shield. This is the shield of the singer — the power of the singer or the actual ceremony: "Stand your shield before me."

3. Shields. The arrow is the power of the witch and the four vertical lines represent

[27] The above representation of the concept of Long Life and Happiness is an interesting and complex one. Why or how the informant used such symbols to represent these ideas cannot be answered, for as Father Berard Haile states, 1947, p. 17, these two are never reproduced in sand paintings. These two may be discussed separately, but as shown in the diagram they are thought of as intimately linked. Note Fishler, 1953, fn, p. 12, for additional information. Father Berard discusses some aspects of this, Haile, 1947, pp. 16–29.

[28] Alterations may be made in the order of component ceremonies, for these may be reversed in their order as to the need of the patient. Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940, p. 21.

[29] This could be Lifeway for injuries, but there is nothing in the symbols to suggest it.

[30] In a sand painting by Oakes, 1943, p. 30, the colors similarly are spotted and represent the seeds of the earth.

[31] This may be Wind Way, Shooting Way or Upward Reaching Way.

four shields. The witch tries to get his power through these shields, but he cannot penetrate them. This shield is of four verses, just like ceremony II, 21 and 22.

4. Monster Slayer. This is the First War Twin who has flints covering him like clothes. Beneath him are the colors of the flints. This First War Twin's first name represents the Sun (i.e., he is the child of the Sun). The black color makes it possible to remember the name and which god goes with the stanza.

5. Born for Water. This is the Second War Twin's name.

6. Changing Grandchild. This is the First War Twin.

7. Raised in the Ground. The Second War Twin got his name from being raised in the ground on top of the mountain.

8. Black Flint. This is the black flint that the First Twin, Monster Slayer, wears.

9. Blue Flint. This is the blue flint that Born for Water wears.

10. Yellow Flint. This is the yellow flint Changing Grandchild wears.

11. White Flint. This is the white flint Raised in the Ground wears.

Plate VIII: Blessing Way.

Many singers have been making Mountain Soil Medicine. They do the ceremony wrong and these singers cannot fix them correctly. Mirage Rock horses and sheep are in it.[32] You should never say a bad word while you have this medicine for it is like saying a bad word against your medicine. If you should drop your bag you would go to "č'į·di·" in a few days. But if you had this ceremony to use when you dropped it, you would be all right. "Live longer, deathless forever; happiness and peaceful." You can also use this ceremony in other ways — if you were to suffer on a mountain or to be hurt on the top of a mountain, this ceremony could be used.

1. sisna·žiní. This mountain is Pelado Peak:[33] "Black Mountain, black; Black Mountain, blue; Black Mountain, yellow; Black Mountain, white."[34] Beneath the mountain are the four colors which are within the mountain and all the others do not count (i.e., the other twelve). These colors also represent the stanzas.

2. co·ził. This mountain is Mount Taylor: "Blue Mountain, black; Blue Mountain, blue; Blue Mountain, yellow; Blue Mountain, white."

3. do·ko'oslí·d. This is San Francisco Peak: "Yellow Mountain, black; Yellow Mountain, blue; Yellow Mountain, yellow; Yellow Mountain, white."

4. dibénca. This is Hesperus Peak: "White Mountain, black; White Mountain, blue; White Mountain, yellow; White Mountain, white."

All four mountains are actually black, but within each there are other colors so that the

[32] This Mountain Medicine or Mountain Soil, was gathered from the six Navaho sacred mountains with the correct prayers and songs. The informant received some of this medicine, along with a Blessing Way story, which he claimed to be six hundred years old, with the completion of his apprenticeship. The bag of Mountain Medicine protects your property and helps to hold onto it — even your wife. It also keeps your land moist and helps you gain everything you want. The bag gained more power because it had been owned by powerful singers.

[33] For a number of years, a controversial question has been the exact boundary of Navaho country, according to the four sacred mountains. There exist good reasons for this confusion, besides those given by Sleight, 1951, in that many of the Navaho do not know and that there are many interchangeable names. On ten different occasions lists of from four to eleven sacred mountains were gained by the author. All versions agreed on Mount Taylor and San Francisco Peak or Mountains. Some disagreement occurred about the northern mountain. Two designated it as Navaho Mountain, while the rest used interchangeably Big Sheep Mountain or San Juan Mountains. Father Berard Haile, 1938b, p. 42, points out that while Matthews and the Franciscan Fathers identified the northern mountain with the San Juan, he believes this to be Hesperus Peak. My informants, while using the name Black Belt Mountain or sisna·žiní for the eastern mountain, identified this mountain as Pelado Peak. Father Berard, 1938b, p. 66, identified this as Blanca Peak, while Sleight, 1951, p. 394, believes the eastern mountain to be Pelado. It may be of interest to mention the drawing of the six sacred mountains in plate XI. Sisna·žiní, as most authors have interpreted it, has a horizontal black belt through its center, plus its being a pointed mountain. This is of interest since the photographs of the Jémez Range, in which Pelado Peak is found (Sleight, 1951, p. 391), is an elongated, rather level, range of mountains.

[34] The usual color order of the holy mountains is white, blue, yellow and black. Matthews suggested, and Reichard, 1950, p. 221 agreed, that the sequence of white, blue, yellow and black have to do with good, while black, blue, yellow and white occur where there is danger. Reichard, pp. 221–40, goes into all the varying color sequences and their ramifications.

four verses or stanzas also have the colors of black, blue, yellow and white. The yellow which surrounds the mountains is Mountain Pollen. This comes from plant and tree pollen.

5. Black Rock. This is a black rock or stone. If a person were working with stones or rocks, or fell from a cliff or rock and was hurt, this ceremony would be used. Sometimes a person will dream of falling into a canyon, and not be able to get out, or falling off a rock; in all these cases, this ceremony is used to cure.

6. Blue Rock. This is blue or green rock or stone.

7. Yellow Rock.

8. White Rock.

The colors beneath the rocks represent the colors of the verses: "Black Rock, black; Black Rock, blue," etc. The yellow surrounding the rocks is rock pollen — there may be a rock under a tree and in this way you can get rock pollen. Pollen can thus be gathered from all of these six mountains and used during the ceremony. If a flat rock were used in a ceremony and it were broken, this ceremony would have to be used to repair it.

9. Plants. This represents all the plants which grow all over the earth. Some plants have needles, poison or burrs. If a person sleeps or steps on one of these, he might get sick. If he did, he would have to have this ceremony. The yellow represents the pollen gathered from good plants. Beneath the plant are the four verses represented in color, as above.

10. Trees. This represents all kinds of trees. A young tree should not be cut because of the gods or spirits dwelling within it — like the bear spirit in the pinyon tree. Cutting trees will make you sick. If a person were hurt by carrying a post or some wood, or if a tree fell on you or you tripped over some wood, or if you were to climb up into a tree and eat — all of these things could cause sickness. Then this ceremony would have to be done. Again there are four colors, representing the stanzas. The remainder is the same as the above.

Plate IX: Water Way.

1. Male Cloud. The vertical lines coming from the bottom are rain. Over the top of the cloud is yellow cloud pollen. This pollen is gathered after it has rained. You go to a lake and at the edge gather the pollen lying on top of the water. This is all kinds of pollen — from trees, plants, rocks, and other things. If it were cloudy and you became blind, if you were to catch a cold from a rainstorm, or if you have a heart attack when it is storming, or if you were almost drowned — this ceremony would be used to cure you. The pollen gained from the water must be used only on those who have been scared by such things, but not really hurt. Again there are four stanzas of four colors.

2. Female Cloud. This is a female black, blue, yellow, and white cloud. If you were in a fog and became sick from this or if you were to get sick from the rain or snow in the wintertime, this ceremony would be used.

3. Water Weeds. These are Water Weeds with the four colors with four stanzas below. If a person were to drink water with Water Weeds in it, he would get a sickness in the stomach. Water Pollen would have to be gathered, lying on top of the water near seaweed, and used in the ceremony.

4. Water. This is water — any water upon the earth. If a person dreams he drowns in the ocean, or a person almost drowns and he is rescued, you have to use this ceremony within four days or on the fifth day he will be dead. If he bleeds from the nose, there is nothing that can be done. If the man has been in the water four days and has no nose bleed, he is not dead yet. After he is pulled out, a gift must be given of five pieces of stone to the water and a prayer is said. He is then uncovered to see if he is still bleeding and if he is, there is no hope. If he is not bleeding more stanzas are sung and soon he will be all right. If this prayer does no good, another prayer is said to the Thunder and he cures the sick person. If you had a chance to swim with a girl and have intercourse with her in the water, you would get sick and this ceremony would have to be held over you.

Plate X: Blessing Way

1. Talking God. This represents the Talking God. In the Yeibichai the man taking the place of Talking God, may tear his mask, or clothes or sack, or he may cough in the mask

or he may put the costume on wrong or he may hear a yei (god) at night.[35] If any of these things happen, he will get sick and if the Yeibichai chant is held over him and it does no good, then this song is used.

2. Calling God. The same things may happen at the Yeibichai with the man taking Calling God's place. He might also become blind for not performing correctly or his mouth might become crooked as punishment for something he did or should not have done.

3. Cedar Tree. This represents a young cedar tree. When you go to a cedar tree to pray you use the prayer of the Talking and Calling Gods. The five colored stones are left as a gift for the favor asked. The reason you do this is because the young cedar tree *is* Talking and Calling God.

4. Corn Field. This represents a corn field. If there is no cedar tree you can do the same as above (number 3) in a corn field. As you enter the corn field you can motion with your hand toward a tree on a distant mountain and this will bring the tree to the corn field. If a person were to give away too many things, carry too many things (commit an excess of any kind) he might get sick and this ceremony would have to be used. If intercourse were to take place in the corn field, sickness would result. In this last case, in addition to the songs and prayers, a sand painting must be made of Pollen Boy and Corn Beetle for a cure.[36]

In all of these ceremonies, a part of the ceremony may be used on one specific sickness, but all of this portion must be used or the person will not be cured.

a. Tassels.
b. Ears of corn.
c. Roots.
d. Leaves.

5. Pollen Boy. This is Pollen Boy with the four colors beneath. If you were to lose your pollen bag or if you have intercourse with a woman and the pollen bag is in your pocket, you have this ceremony done. Or if you were praying for a patient and you drop the bag, this ceremony is done.

6. Corn Beetle. Beneath her are the four colors. She raises all the plants but would not be able to without Pollen Boy. These two are inseparable and these two are used together in ceremonies. The gift of the five stones in the corn field are for the Corn Pollen Boy and Corn Beetle Girl. In all cases there must be four stanzas as in previous ceremonies. To get pollen from Corn Beetle, pollen is shaken from her, i.e., corn pollen is placed on a corn beetle and then used. Pollen Boy represents Long Life and Corn Beetle Girl represents Happiness.

Plate XI: Blessing Way or Upward Reaching Way.

If a person gets sick and becomes stiff, this ceremony is used. There are many songs and prayers used.

1. Earth. This represents the earth. The informant stated that the green had no specific meaning. If someone were to get stiff this song, "Earth," is sung and a massage given to the parts that are stiff.

2. Patient and the Singer. This represents the patient and the singer. "I am the god (any god) who stands in the earth."

3. "He is moving (or rising) with me."
4. "He (the god) got up with me."
5. "Carry me along and take me home."
6. "Coming back soon to my home."
7. "He is going back with me. He sits down with me. He is starting to tell stories to use (in the ceremony). He has finished telling the stories to me."
8. "I am Long Life."
9. "The Two go together (Long Life and Happiness)."[37]
10. "I am Happiness."
11. Heaven. "I am the god who stands in

[35] Such mistakes in the Night Chant are believed to cause blindness, warping, crippling, or twisted mouths. Reichard, 1950, p. 94.

[36] Most of Hill's (1938, p. 56) informants believed that intercourse did no harm *to the corn.* One informant believed such acts to anger the holy beings and they would cause trouble.

[37] McAllester's (n.d.) informant, has portrayed Long Life as being either a cross or a cross with the horizontal bar the same as the horizontal bar on a swastika, while Happiness is represented by a swastika. It would be interesting to know the motivation behind the picturing of these concepts in such a manner. Since the completion of the manuscript, Dr. McAllester has informed me that although he did not check this point specifically, there was no implication that these formed a traditional set of symbols.

the heaven." The red is for remembering what the picture is.

12. "Mother Mountain."

13. "Mother Water," which can be any water or waves.

14. "Pelado Peak," horizontal Black Belt Mountain. As each of the six mountains are said and as each of the other gods are spoken of, you say, "I am the god who stands inside the heaven (or inside the earth or mountain, etc.)." This is repeated from two to ten times.

15. "Mount Taylor."

16. "San Francisco Peak." The mountain looks like the drawing.

17. "Hesperus Mountain," or Big Sheep Mountain.

18. "Huerfano Mountain or Reversible Mountain or Mountain Around Which Moving Was Done." The cross means that you can look at the mountain from all sides and it still looks that same way from any direction.

19. "Gobernador Knob." The Navaho name is that of čô·l'į'į· and this is the reason for the Lorraine Cross in the center.

First Man brought up all six mountains from below, after the flood began. It was Crown Point (Gobernador) and Reversible Mountains that were hogans and where the gods, in the beginning, talked of making the various animals.[38]

20. Mirage Rock.

21. Mirage Rock Powder. This is actually a powder. The small lines represent the powder.

22. Plant Mirage. This represents the mirage of plants.

23. Mirage Water. Mirage Water is that which is seen on roads during hot days.

24. Talking God.

25. Calling God. He has not as many feathers and he is not as powerful as Talking God. These are "live eagle feathers."

26. Corn. This corn represents *all* corn. The colored tassels represent various colored corn.

27. Pollen Boy.

28. Corn Beetle Girl.

29. Long Life and Happiness.

a. This is where the person, any person, stands to do the prayer and songs.

b. "Good pathway in front of me, I will go by that."

c. "Good pathway behind me, I will go by that."

d. "Good pathway under me, I will go by that."

e. "Good pathway on top of me, I will go by that."

f. "All things around me will be good."

g. "My thoughts will be good forever (są'ah na·γái). I will talk pleasantly (bik̇eh xóžǫ́)."

These make up part of the Good Way (Blessing Way). As you go from the earth, gods, mountains, and other things, you say, "I am the god who stands inside heaven, etc."

Plate XII: Blessing Way

This is a Blessing Way song used to wash a patient's hair. This ceremony is called, "This-is-when-they-created- (or layed out) Corn Beetle Girl."

1. Corn field.

a. Corn field outlines.

b. The corn.

2. Layed out. "This is the way it has been layed out." The gods put her inside the corn tassel. Talking God wanted to see if she could make a sound and that was why he was there.

3. Corn Beetle Girl. When she was layed out, number 2, this song was sung:

a. "Her pollen feet."

b. "Her pollen legs."

c. "Her pollen body."

d. "Her pollen face."

e. Diamond quartz bag. "Turquoise wings with diamond designs inside the wings."

f. "She makes a sound."

g. "Pollen feather."

h. "The thoughts of Talking God and Corn Beetle Girl are almost the same."

i. "Then Talking God said, 'our echoes (voices) are almost the same.' "[39]

j. This is the corn field Corn Beetle Girl went to, when she was to hear the sound.

[38] Fishler, 1953, pp. 27, 33.

[39] The Franciscan Fathers, 1910, pp. 383, 384, state that when Talking God and Calling God and others were created and the spirit of life breathed into them, the Corn Beetle Girl was to give speech or voice to the others. When he spoke, Talking God could utter only, "wuuhú," and Calling God could utter only, "quwó, qawó."

k. The quartz bag (?).

4. Talking God.

5. This is exactly the same as XI, 29, except:

a. This shows Corn Beetle Boy and Corn Beetle Girl layed out together as described in number 2.

6. Corn Field. This also represents a corn field. Calling God, number 7a, did the same as Talking God, but he used pumpkins instead of corn.

a. A long narrow corn field.

b. Pumpkins.

7. Corn Beetle, a girl.

a. "Her pollen feet."

b. "Her pollen legs."

c. "Her pollen body."

d. "Her pollen face."

e. "Turquoise wings and diamond designs inside the wings."

f. "She makes a sound (or echo)."

g. "Pollen feather."

h. "The thoughts of Calling God and Corn Beetle Girl are almost the same."

i. "Then Calling God said, 'Our echoes are almost the same.'"

j. This is the corn field that Corn Beetle Girl went to, in order to hear the sound. The Calling God did the same as the Talking God, but his prayers were with pumpkins.

8. Names of the song. These are the names of the song, such as, "Song about the wings making sounds," or, "The quartz bag," and so on.

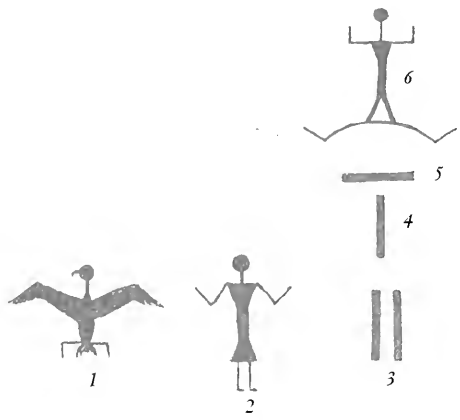
9. Wings. "The wings are moving."

10. Wings and noise. "The wings are making noises."

11, 15 and 5 are the same.

12, 13, 14 are the same songs, but have different starts, yet finish in the same way as the others. The informant would say no more about this, but said that this would have to be gained from another singer.

All of these designs are used in different ways — prayers for protection or in the Blessing Way. All are used for protection and in the Blessing Way.



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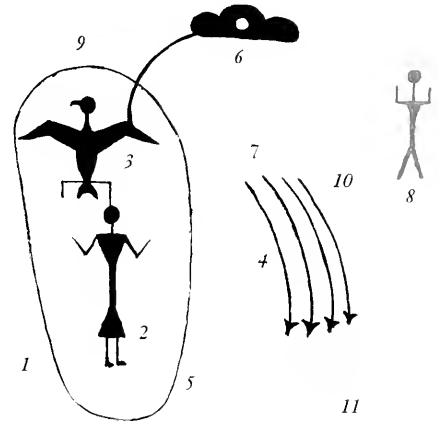

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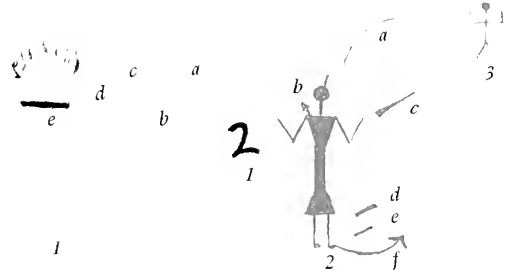

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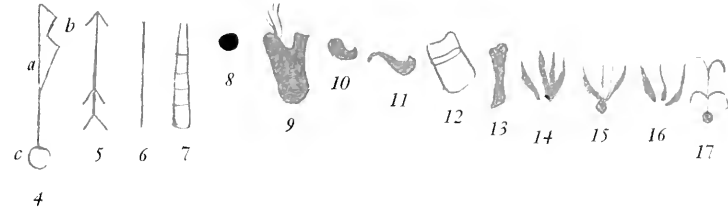

PLATE I,D

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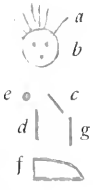

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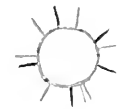

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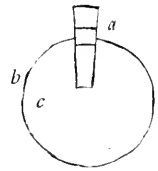

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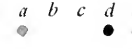

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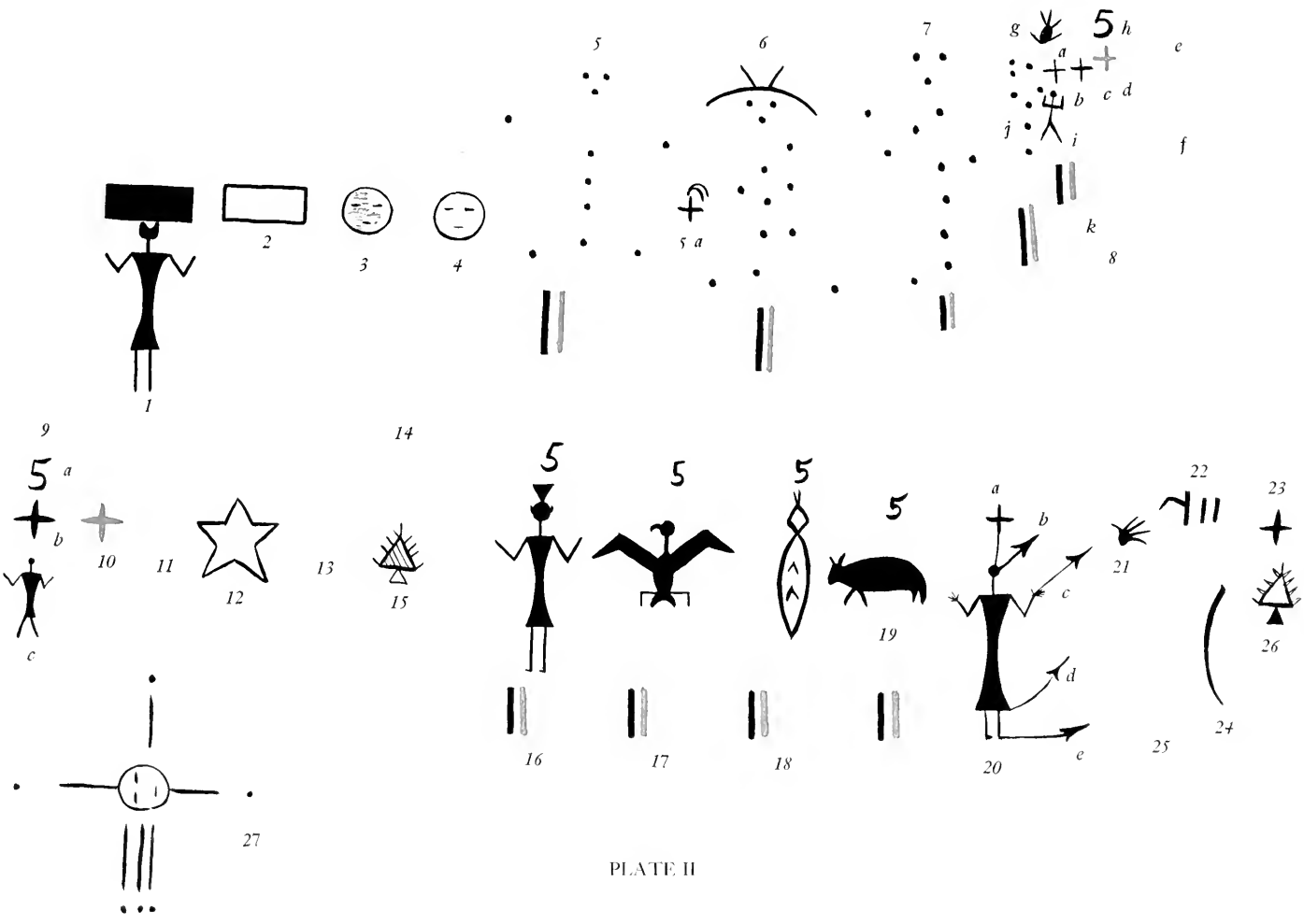
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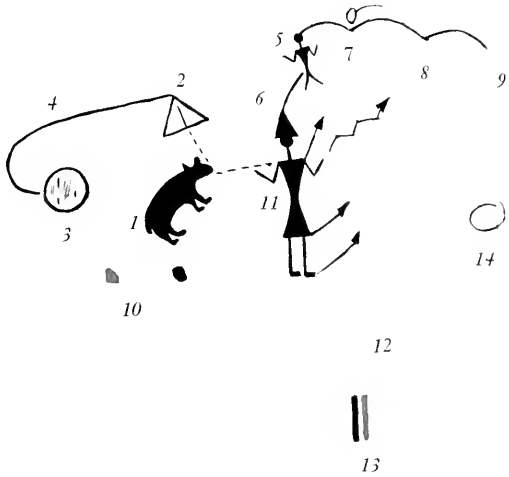

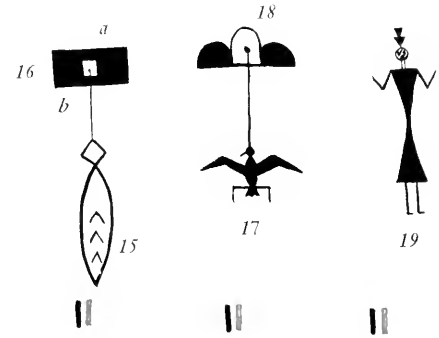

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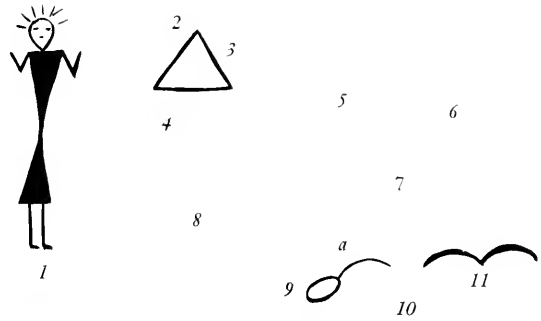

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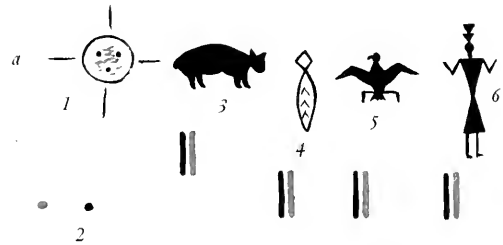

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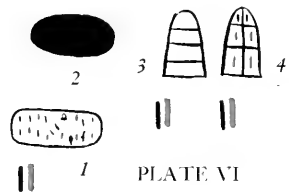

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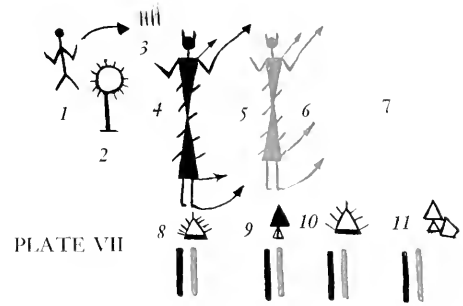

PLATE VII

PLATE VIII

PLATE IX

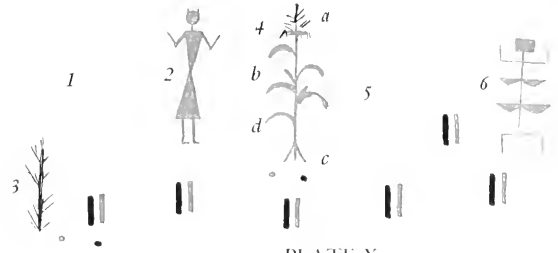

PLATE X

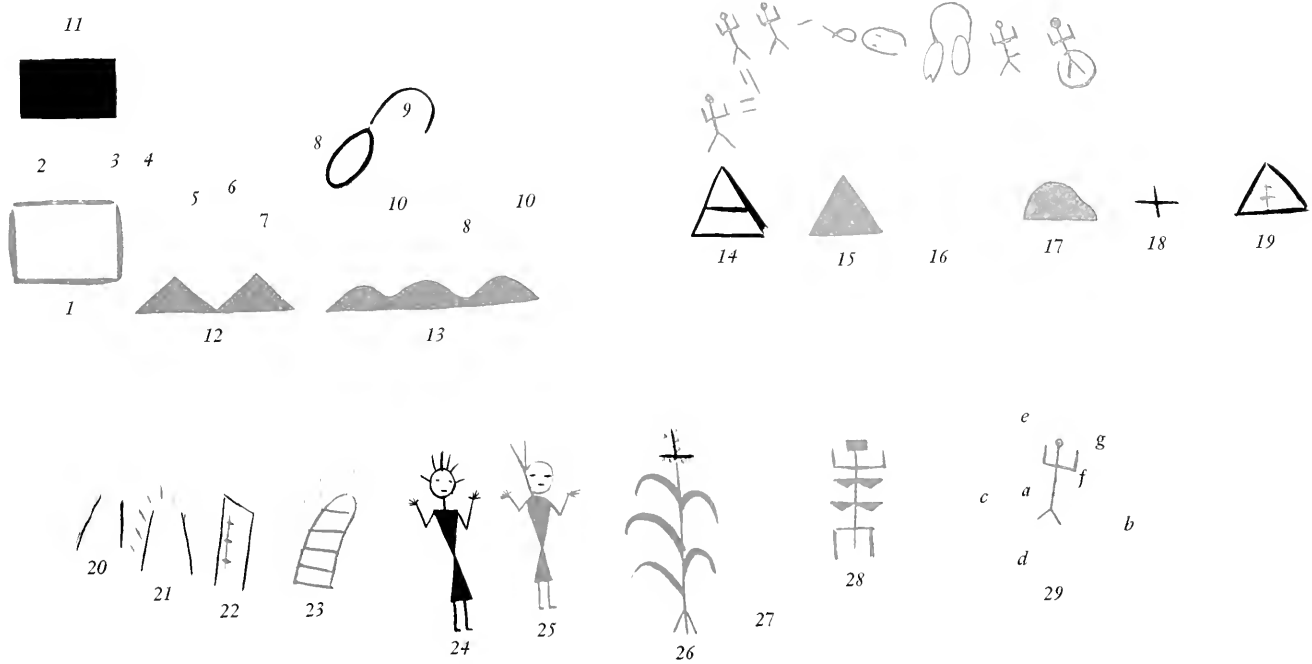
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PLATE XI

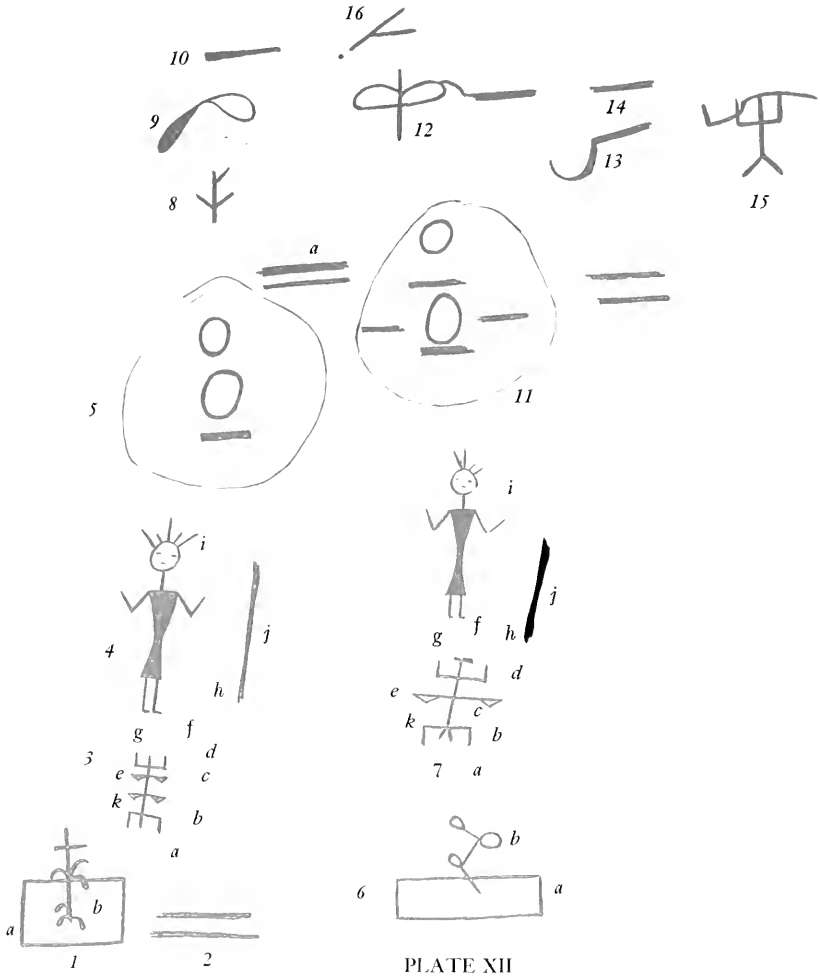

PLATE XII

CONCLUSIONS

PICTURE writing as a means of expressing thoughts or noting facts by various means is a widespread phenomenon in North America. Mnemonic devices or "memory-joggers," a subdivision of picture writing, are manifest among primitive groups and while expressed upon anything from feathers to colored "sand," they are used to recount traditions, record treaties, keep accounts, give order of songs and for other purposes.[1] Little has been noted in the published material dealing with the Navaho as to the use of picture writing of the type shown here.[2]

The Franciscan Fathers tell us: [3] "By way of illustration, and as an aid to memory, lines are sometimes drawn on the sand. Various figures are designed in blankets and depicted in sand paintings or on prayersticks, and are now also seen on cloth and paper. The Navaho do not tattoo, neither do they write, draw or design on paper or leather." The Franciscans later state: ". . . is a sample roll of prayersticks which is kept by some singers to aid in the making of the various prayersticks for the chants, or certain parts of the chants requiring special prayersticks, and tracing the order in which they should follow. Not every singer is possessed of the sample roll as most of them rely upon memory in preparing and ordering them." [4] No illustrations were given.

Reichard,[5] writes of a medicine man who relied upon paper sketches in the making of prayer sticks. Father Berard,[6] has reproduced the first of two picture writing devices in published material similar to the ones owned by John Yazzi. While some of the devices may be followed in the Liberation Prayer itself, which is also concerned with the curing of witchcraft, no explanation of meaning is given for the individual symbols used. Dr. McAllester,[7] in his recording of the Music of the Navajo Creation Chants, worked in Arizona in the fall of 1950. The singer recording for him did not know the order of the words in the creation chant and to aid his memory, the informant drew pictographs. From the context of the paper, it would seem the informant drew the pictographs, gaining the order of words from songs recorded by another singer. Four of the figures were painted yellow to represent such things as the yellow afterglow, and yellow pollen and corn. Essentially these devices of McAllester are similar, in some respects, to those described here in that they are used as a means to keep the word order. Again, without the interpretation by the informant only a very few of the devices could be recognized by the majority of the Navaho and undoubtedly few, if any, of the stanzas of the songs could be ascertained by anyone other than the maker.[8]

In a way, it is not strange that picture writing of the type herein described should exist. The range and diversities of Navaho ceremonialism are outstanding when one notes the mass of published data, and still much is to be done. Dry paintings in a permanent medium were forbidden to the Navaho.[9] The purpose of the dry paintings was to allow some of the "power" depicted to be absorbed from the

[1] Mallery, 1882.

[2] This manuscript was completed when Miss Wheelwright brought to my attention the existence of a second set of published mnemonic devices. McAllester, n.d.

[3] 1910, p. 74.

[4] 1910, p. 398. Dr. Wyman, in a personal communication in March, 1954, stated that he checked and could find no singers who had used such cloths or had even seen the type described by the Franciscan Fathers.

[5] 1950, p. 305.

[6] Haile, 1950, p. 256.

[7] N.d.

[8] The manuscript was completed when Dr. McAllester informed me in a personal communication dated March 15, 1954, that I was correct as to the way in which the informant made and used the picture writing. He further stated that while he had no statement in his field notes as to whether the informant used pictographs in the usual learning situation, it was his impression the informant had not used pictographs previously. Dr. McAllester felt that the making of the picture writing was a response to an unusual situation.

[9] Reichard, 1950, p. 96; Sapir, 1935, p. 609; and Wyman, 1952, p. 13.

painting into the patient.[10] The Franciscan Fathers[11] note the following: "Originally, these drawings were made by the gods themselves upon spreads designated as naskhá, a sewing, implying that the effigy was stitched upon some kind of fabric. . . . These were spread out for the ceremony, after which they were rolled up and carried to their homes by the divinities." Yet those who made use of permanent drawings were gods, and this was not for the Earth Surface People to do! Only within relatively recent years have the Navaho felt not only immune to the power of the gods in the making or reproductions of dry paintings, but have gained the understanding that much would be lost, if some permanent medium were not used to preserve them.[12] While "sand painting" blankets may be looked upon as blasphemy by many Navaho,[13] equally so are the reproductions in water color, paints or pencil.[14]

The Navaho then have on the one hand precedents set by the gods, who forbade the permanent medium of a dry painting, and on the other hand the fallibility of the memory of man who has need of remembering thousands of verses for one ceremony. Faced by such a dilemma it is not too hard to see how a Navaho might defy custom and feel that his "power" was sufficient reason to permanently record. Finally there is the rationalization that, whether the object be dry painting, blankets, or a "memory-jogger," the reproduction is not a real reproduction. This is because ideally no two things are made exactly alike.

As is true in picture writing generally, many of the symbols used are exoteric and thus known to the mass of people. In the more ideographic subjects, these may give the general idea of what is represented, but not the exact words, or any words, for that matter.[15] So it is with many of the devices described here. In the first ceremony, thunder is easily recognized, while the words belonging to the verses in the ceremony would not be known to the majority of the Navaho. Even many of the objects portrayed would not represent exoteric knowledge.

Some symbols are known and used over a wide area by the Navaho, being very similar to those utilized by the Pueblo and Apache. Examples in published material show great similarities to symbols utilized in petroglyphs, dry paintings, blankets, prayer sticks, sacrificial figurines and baskets, with some variation as to composition, form and interpretation.

Father Berard's picture writing[16] depicting thunder, bear, snake and wind are in form design closer to the ones described here than symbols represented in any of the other Navaho published material. That the actual form should be a simplified version of the intricate and painstaking dry painting is natural, due to the purpose involved. The picture writing is to assist in the remembering of the prayers and their order. While the important details are depicted as reminders, the general form is simplified, easily fulfilling its function.

Kluckhohn and Leighton adequately described the complexity of ceremonialism using the following simile:[17] "Prodigious memory is demanded of the ceremonialist. The Singer who knows one nine-night chant must learn at least as much as a man who sets out to memorize the whole of a Wagnerian opera: orchestral score, every vocal part, all the details of the settings, stage business, and each requirement of costume." The old men are dying off and due to increased interest in things non-Navaho, fewer young men are replacing them. Certainly all the ingredients for such an innovation were present as far as these devices were concerned — knowledge of symbols utilized elsewhere for various purposes, and there was certainly the impetus and need due to the loss of the old men and non-interest of the young. There can be no doubt that the origin of the devices was influenced by whites or acculturated Navaho. The essentials of writing are well known. Still there was, as in much Navaho ceremonialism, a minimum of obvious white influence and the style still retains its native flavor and technique. These

[10] Reichard, 1950, p. 112.
[11] 1910, p. 398.
[12] Wyman, 1952, p. 13.
[13] Sapir, 1935, p. 609.
[14] Wyman, 1952, pp. 13–14.
[15] Mallery, 1888, p. 225.
[16] Haile, 1950, p. 256.
[17] Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1948, p. 163.

devices were made by and for the informant and were not to be utilized by others. These are, then, individualistic picture writings of fairly recent acquisition, with the relations of the symbol to words and verses interpreted only by the maker. Other similar devices exist on the reservation,[18] and as modern life continues to make inroads into the life of the Navaho, there probably will be an increased utilization of such devices.

[18] The informant, John Yazzi, stated that his clan brother has some similar devices. Father Berard Haile, in a personal communication in November of 1953, reported that other mnemonic devices are known to exist on the reservation.

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PART III:

NOTES ON CORRESPONDING SYMBOLS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD

by

Mary C. Wheelwright

NOTES ON CORRESPONDING SYMBOLS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD

IN THE following pages[1] I have brought together references to symbols in various parts of the world that correspond to some that are mentioned in Mrs. Newcomb's earlier chapters describing Navajo symbols. They are presented briefly for their suggestive value, without claim to completeness or comprehensive treatment, solely as the record of one person's reading and observations.

As an introduction to the pages that follow, I quote certain notes that I made upon first reading Christopher Dawson's *The Age of the Gods*. While there is some direct quotation, they reflect chiefly the impression of the early chapters of the book upon a reader concerned with the religion of the Navajo.

"A culture is a common way of life — a particular adjustment of man to his natural surroundings and his economic needs. Race alone does not explain social development, for environment, occupation and thought interact in varying degrees. The history of mankind shows a continuous process of integration by reason, which is a creative power, and by religion, which embodies an attitude of life and a conception of reality. The prophet is perhaps the greatest of all agents of social change. Thus the great stages of world culture are linked with changes in man's vision of reality. Aristotle, in a flash of scientific imagination, anticipated modern experimental achievements in the theory of the Great Summer and the Great Winter, according to which the earth passes through a cycle of climatic change, each phase of which is linked with a corresponding change in the relative area of land and sea. When physical conditions are most stable, man does not progress.

The religious impulse has been always and everywhere present as one of the great permanent forces that make and alter man's destiny. The beginnings of religion are as old as the human consciousness.

The African Bushmen and Australian aborigines are not typical of primitive man in Europe because of the great difference of physical type and geographical environment. It is rather in the Northern Steppe region of Asia and America that we find the closest analogies to Europe of the later glacial age, owing to parallels in climate, fauna and flora. There is to be found a common religious foundation which is the key to the earliest known human religion — that of hunting people, who live utterly dependent on nature. The hunter sees everywhere behind the outward appearance a vague supernatural power, showing itself alike in beast and plant, storm and heat, in rock and tree, in the magic of the priest and in the spirits of the dead. Particularly in the Indian tribes of North America, the idea lies at the root of primitive magic. Indians see the vague cosmic power above all manifested in the animals, particularly in regard to the killing of bears. The relation of the hunter — the belief in animal guardian spirits — which goes back to late Palaeolithic times may well have been diffused through India to southeast Asia and Australasia, and through Siberia to North America.

With the change from the Palaeolithic to the Neolithic culture, man ceased to be a parasite on nature, like the hunter; he learned to govern and direct nature. Agricultural people tend to matriarchy, for the cultivation of land involves fixed settlements, and it is the woman who cultivates, not the mobile patriarchal hunter or owner of flocks, that is the stable element in society. A corresponding development is found in religion. Primitive peoples regard the earth, which is the mother of the crops, as a female principle — The Earth Mother. Her divine son and lover, who is the personification of the vegetative life of nature as seen in the trees and the harvest, symbolized death and resurrection, and later gave immortality to initiates. While agricultural people have an earth religion, pastoral people

[1] I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Walter Whitehill for his editing of this section.

revere the Sun, the Moon and Storms; the Sky God is supreme. This is possibly an older religion than that of the Earth, as it was that of hunting peoples before agriculture. Pastoral life frees men from continual labor and tends to speculation."

DEER AND HORNS OF POWER

Horned animals in Mesopotamia, Assyria, Egypt, China, and among our Indians, either in the form of bull, antlered deer or antelope, were considered one of the earliest sources of power. From them developed such Horned Gods as Pan or Cernunnos, and in the western Middle Ages the idea of the Christian Devil. This is suggestive of the fundamental unity of thought in regard to sources of power that are possibly to be reached by prayer.

In Navajo sand paintings the Sun, Moon, Earth-Mother, Sky-Father, and Storms are always represented with horns of power. In addition the most powerful forms of certain powers, such as snakes, are sometimes represented with horns.

The Navajo's reverence for the deer is shown by the use of skins from deer killed without the shedding of blood in the costume of the Yehbechai God; by the fact that their paintings were originally on deer skins; that deer appear in many of their paintings, and that they use rattles of deer hoofs in their dances. When I asked the Navajo priest Klah why the Navajo revered the deer, he pointed to the veins in his wrist, which suggest deer horns. In one ceremony of the Red Ant, the wife of the hero is turned into a deer. Horns denote power to the Navajo. They also grind up the horns for medicine and burn them in incense.

Similarly in primitive Chinese medicine, ground-up deer horn is considered efficacious for the blood and is prescribed to increase virility. In regard to the deer horn as the container of life, from which this medical theory probably derives, Mr. John Hadley Cox of Washington, D.C., tells me that in Manchuria deer horns are so transparent that one can see the blood enter the new horns in the spring. As the blood comes up in the deer horns before the sap comes up in the trees or vegetation begins, to a people familiar with deer in a country where trees are scarce or non-existent, the horns give the first premonition of spring. The deer rut in the autumn when their horns have hardened and dried, and the life-force that formerly passed into the horns passes into the genitals. Mr. Cox tells me that in many early sites in many different localities, ritual horned animals are buried with their horns above ground, and that on the only documented set of early Shang bronzes indicating ritual position (in the Wedel collection), all the life forms, including the horns, show progressive growth.

The superb Chinese bronze ceremonial vessel belonging to Mrs. Eugene Meyer of Washington, D.C., that is reproduced in plate I, *a*, shows man emerging from an insect form and evolving progressively through increasingly powerful animal forms to the culmination of a great monster with strongly curved horns of full power.

Horned figures appear early in prehistoric art, as in the Palaeolithic painting of the horned sorcerer in the Caverne des Trois Frères in the Ariège in southern France. In the fourth century B.C. in the Far East one finds a wooden antlered demon head from Ch'angsha in south central China, purchased in 1950 by the British Museum (pl. I, *b*), which should be compared with the antlered human masks in the Mound Builder culture from Hopewell Mound in Ohio (pl. II). Note also the antlered altar from Ch'angsha of the late Chou period, *ca.* third century B.C., belonging to Mr. John Hadley Cox (pl. III).

Mrs. Bober, in studying the Celtic deity Cernunnos, calls attention (pp. 14, 18) to a rock carving at Val Camonica, dating from before the mid-fourth century B.C. at the time of the Celtic sojourn in northern Italy. Here is an erect antlered figure, clothed in a long flowing garment, standing erect in an *orans* pose. She mentions Dr. Alfred Salmony's theory that "the antler motive lived on in the art of the steppe people, who carried it into China and at the same time bequeathed it to the Celts." Salmony cites antlered horse masks from the Scythian burial at Pazirik, and two gold "shaman" crowns in the Seoul Museum

from Silla in Korea with tree and antler decorations that indicate Siberian connections.

An Indus Valley seal of about 3000 B.C. from Mohenjodaro (reproduced by Coomaraswamy, pl. VI, fig. 22) shows a male horned god sitting cross-legged — a prototype of the great god Shiva of the later Hindu religion — with four beasts around him and two deer at his feet. Warren's translation (p. 46) of the account of the birth of the Buddha from the introduction to the Jātaka, tells how the Brahma angels delivered the newly-born child "to the four guardian angels, who received him from their hands on a rug which was made of the skins of black antelopes, and was soft to the touch, being such as is used on state occasions." It might be noted that in India deer are shown on either side of the Wheel of the Law, and be recalled that Buddha received enlightenment in the Deer Park.

In Greece deer were sacred to Apollo at Delphi, as well as to Aphrodite and to Artemis. Actaeon, who surprised Artemis while bathing, was punished by being turned into a stag who was torn to pieces by his own hounds. Kerényi mentions (p. 146) an older tale in which Actaeon approached Artemis disguised in the pelt of a stag, her favorite animal, and a later version in which Artemis, when Actaeon attempted to rape Semele, threw a stag's pelt over his shoulders. There seems general agreement, however, that the unfortunate Actaeon was torn to pieces by hounds.

The stag was used as a symbol of abundance in the earliest Celtic art, probably before the Celts arrived in Europe. In the west the Horned God, Cernunnos, is most readily found through the study of Roman and pre-Roman monuments in Gaul, where this antlered deity is usually seated cross-legged, and often accompanied by a ram-headed serpent, or a woman holding a cornucopia. Some of these representations go back to the fourth century B.C. Such figures have been variously interpreted as personification of night, death, evil or the generator of fecundity. The Romans called him Dis Pater, and said that the Celts believed they were descended from him. Alexandre Bertrand (Bober, pp. 21–22) suggested that the cross-legged way of sitting came from India, where it was adopted for the Buddha about the end of the first millennium A.D. Although this position is represented in Graeco-Egyptian terra cotta figures, in objects from Cyprus and other circumambient regions affected by the east, it is not used in Greek art.

The Gundestrup cauldron (Bober, fig. 3) from the La Tène culture in Jutland shows Cernunnos holding a torque in his right hand, and a ram-headed serpent in his left. Next him is a stag with five-tined antlers identical to those of the god. A relief in the museum at Reims (Bober, fig. 13) shows Cernunnos as a bearded old man, with cow horns, with a torque about his neck, holding a bag of acorns, seated cross-legged between Apollo and Mercury above a bull and a stag. Similar Horned Gods are familiar in Scotland, France, Scandinavia and South America. At Meigle in Scotland there is a composite horned figure with the head of a bull, a human body with serpentine legs terminating in fish tails, whose uplifted hands grasp snakes, flanked by a boar and a wolf. It will be recalled that Saint Mungo of Glasgow made fields fertile by harnessing a wolf and a stag.

According to the mediaeval bestiaries, the hart or the stag was said to be the deadly enemy of dragons or serpents, for he fed on these to restore his health and to get material for a crop of new antlers. Thus this animal came, in the allegory of the bestiaries, to typify the destruction of evil by Christ.

Deer served numerous pious purposes in the western Middle Ages. For example, such an animal with a light between its horns met a nun on the Nethberg, the highest hill west of Zurich, and guided her down to the site where the Frauemunster was built in A.D. 853. St. Hubert, while hunting, was converted through meeting a deer bearing the image of the crucified Christ between its horns, as one may see over the entrance to the chapel at Amboise, in a painting by the fifteenth century German Master of Werden in the National Gallery in London, and elsewhere. A Chartres window shows the similar conversion of St. Eustache. Deer bearing crosses are also familiar in Egypt and South America. Another fifteenth century painting in the National Gallery in London shows St. Giles succoring a wounded deer in his arms.

In Ireland there is the curious incident of

St. Patrick and his companions escaping their enemies unrecognized, in the guise of deer, while singing the Lorica, known as "St. Patrick's Breastplate" or "The Deer's Cry" — a translation of which appears today in Anglican hymnals as "I bind unto myself today the strong name of the Trinity." This mysterious incident was explained by Macalister (pp. 144–46) by suggesting that the saint and his companions had the wit to trick themselves out in the deer skins that were the working clothes of a formidable secret society known as the "Fair-lucky Harps." Professor Macalister gave considerable offense in some quarters of Ireland by suggesting a parallel between this ancient Irish magical college and present-day Duk-Duk dancers of frightening appearance in the Bismarck Archipelago!

Deer skins and horns are dancing costume in many parts of the world. The Pueblo Indians have a deer dance in winter with elaborate horned headdresses. In one of the villages in the Coorg hill country in South India, Whitehead (pp. 91–92) reports that the Coorgs after sacrificing a buffalo, have peculiar dances around the temple, in which ornaments belonging to and kept in the temple are worn. In the Kombata or horn dance, each man wears the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head, while in the Pili-ata, or peacock's feather dance, the performers are ornamented with feathers. In England the Abbots Bromley deer dance, which is held in October (the season of the stag's rutting), is one of the oldest folk customs to have survived. It is of a processional type, and the whitened deer horns, which are held before the faces of the dancers, are kept in the church during the remainder of the year.

The Christian devil, both in mediaeval and modern times, was usually horned. Horns also normally appeared on the fool's cap and on the heads of cuckolds. The Marquis de Montespan advertised his condition of royal cuckold after his wife had become the mistress of Louis XIV by driving into the courtyard of the palace at Versailles in a coach draped in black with a stag's antlers wobbling about on the roof.

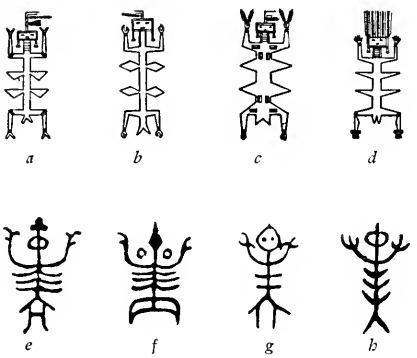
It might be noted that, whether through mistranslation of the Old Testament or through primitive tradition, Michelangelo's Moses has budding horns on his head. Horned heads come down to recent times, as one sees in the terminal figures on certain staffs, made in Africa of iron and in Persia, and possibly India, of steel inlaid with silver. A nineteenth century Persian example from a New York private collection is reproduced here (pl. IV, *a*), and in 1954 Dr. Leland C. Wyman saw in Beirut a Persian helmet topped by a similar horned human head of steel inlaid with silver.

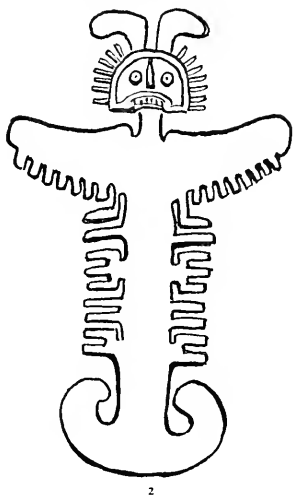
DONTSO

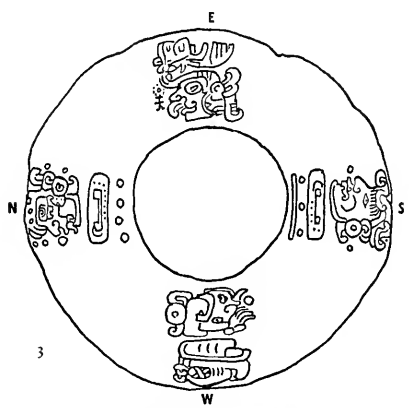
The Navajos call him the Messenger. Although his earthly form is a white-headed fly, he is a powerful agent in the myths, unafraid of any force, who is the comforter and helper of the hero. Every myth tells of the choice of a prophet to bring a particular message, and thereby give help and healing to men. During this process the prophet is tested by the gods, and needs the help and advice of beneficent and wise counsellors such as Dontso. While traveling in India I found that Dontso was similar to the Purusha symbol of the spirit or soul, and apparently in the most ancient Chinese symbols there is a similar unity of meaning. The similarity of appearance will be seen in figure 1, where four versions of Dontso (shown through the kindness of Dr. Leland C. Wyman) are reproduced with examples of the ancient Chinese calligraphic symbol of the Cicada (H. Hentze, fig. 1 e, f, g, h). Compare also the Central American gold symbol from Colombia in the British Museum (fig. 2), and a jade circle from British Honduras (fig. 3), also in the British Museum, which is decorated with four faces, probably typifying the four directions, beside one of which is a small symbol similar to Dontso.

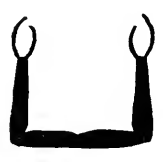
There is the same apparent meaning to the Ka of Egypt (fig. 4), which is the symbol of the spirit part of man as contrasted with the Ba, or physical side (see Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*).

Hentze says (p. 15), in relation to the Cicada symbol, that the Australian aborigines' idea of the resurrection of their particular deity, the Witchety Grub, is almost identical with









FIGS. 1–4. 1, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, four versions of Dontso. *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, ancient Chinese calligraphic symbols for *Cicada*. (*e–h*, *courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.*) 2. Gold symbol from Colombia in British Museum. 3. Jade circle from British Honduras in British Museum. 4. Symbol associated with Ka.

the Chinese idea shown in the figure of Cicada larva on Shang period bronzes. He further states that the Cicada symbol is not only one of resurrection but of renovation. Hentze's first page of representations of the Cicada so much resembled the Navajo Dontso that I tried for years to locate the Japanese book by Nakashima, *Shu-ch'ieh yüan-yüan*, from which he quoted on this subject and finally located it in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D. C.

Mr. John Hadley Cox, who has lived and studied in China, and is now making a study of the Ch'angsha Codex in the Freer Gallery, has given me the following notes on the subject. "This character appears generally in inscriptions and calligraphy; not usually on bronzes. A character which does not fit into either calendric nor zodiacal system, unlike the characters meaning rabbit, turtle, tiger or dragon, it is not associated with any specific orientation or particular time of year. It means only itself, and stands for the precursor of First Man as a symbol of rebirth, according to the Ch'angsha Codex. Later it was con-

sidered to be a Cicada, and there are further sources in Chinese literature showing that, because of the Cicada's apparent death during a period of ten years, it represents a miraculous form of rebirth. It is the most compact form of the inclusive essence of life. On bronzes there is a tendency to show the right side of the figure larger than the left. Later this character was considered as meaning 'bat.' A book by Kuo Mo-jo, *A New Study in Chinese Bronzes*, published in December 1952, establishes (despite Communist orthodoxy) connections of Shang characters and calendrics with the ancient Near East. A little known article published by Paul Pelliot in 1916, 'Influences Indiennes en Asie Centrale et en Extrême Orient', holds the same theory of the origin of the earliest characters."

The chrysalis and the butterfly have often been taken as resurrection symbols. According to Sir Arthur Evans (pp. 53–64), butterflies in Crete represented human souls. They appear on the Ring of Nestor, where the underworld is divided into four regions by a great tree above the head of the Mother Goddess. The chrysalis as an emblem of life after death is illustrated by amulets found at Mycenae. Plate IV, *b* shows a crystal insect chrysalis from the Spiro Mound, Le Flore County, Oklahoma, reproduced through the kindness of Dr. Ralph B. Shead, Acting Director of the University of Oklahoma Museum. Two similarly shaped insect chrysalises of hard granitic stone were included in the pre-Columbian exhibition at the Philadelphia Art Museum in January 1954.

FEATHER AND OTHER ABSTRACTIONS

For the Navajos, the FEATHERS on headdresses or prayer plumes are their means of contact with the sky and its powers. According to Flinders Petrie (p. 56) Shu was, in Egypt, the god of space, who lifted up Nut (the personification of heaven) off the body of Seb (the personification of the earth). Shu's emblem uses the ostrich feather, which, as a singularly light and voluminous object, was appropriate for a god conveying the abstract idea of air or space. Sara Yorke Stevenson (pp. 239–40) observes that "The feather and the wing in Egyptian myths are always and everywhere associated with the notion of heat and of light, and form endlessly varied themes. Not only are the goddesses. . . spoken of as making light with their feathers or with their wings, but 'Shu,' the god of the luminous air, who supports the heavenly vault, bears a feather upon his head, and 'rising, he irradiates light with his double feather.'" She cites other texts which state "Thou receivest thy double feather, thy double light" and "The sun, mighty king, divides the heaven with his two feathers." Wallis Budge (p. 320) mentions the White Crown of Osiris, to which are attached the feathers indicating Truth, which was his chief characteristic. The idea apparently comes from the primeval conception of the Heaven-Bird, which is discussed at length by Stevenson (pp. 211 ff). In this connection one might note the representation of a bird on a pole or staff in the Lascaux cave, reproduced by Brodrick (pls. 44–45, pp. 82–83).

According to Heraclitus, eternal FIRE was more than an element; it was primordial essence, the source of all things and superior to the gods (Stevenson, p. 237).

In Father Berard Haile's *Emergence Myth of the Navajos*, there is much about columns of light in the First World, and the Fire God was one of the seven immortals in the First Lower World.

The Navajos say that the spirit wanders for four days before finding the way to "the under world where all unsprouted seeds fall and grow." The Milky Way is the path of souls. The Navajos fear many powers, but in the highest God they recognize a Father and Preserver who wants them to do good.

a

b

PLATE I. *a*, Horned god. Chinese bronze Kuang ceremonial vessel, owned by Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Washington, D. C. *b*, Wooden monster head from Ch'angsha, south central China, 4th century B.C. *See* page 84. *(Photo, courtesy of the British Museum.)*

PLATE II. Antlered mask from the Hopewell Mound, Ohio. *See* page 84. (*Photo, courtesy of the Chicago Natural History Museum.*)

PLATE III. Antlered altar from Ch'angsha, China, owned by Mr. John Hadley Cox, Washington, D. C.
See page 84.

b

b, Crystal chrysalis of insect from Spiro Mound, Oklahoma. *See* pages 86 and 88. (*Photo, courtesy of the University of Oklahoma Museum.*)

a

PLATE IV. *a*, Antlered human head of steel and silver, from Persia, 19th century, owned by Miss Susan Dwight Bliss, New York.

ETHKAY-NAH-ASHI AND AŚVINS

In connection with the Navajo Ethkay-nah-ashi,[2] it is of interest to turn to comparable figures in the earliest Vedic mythology of India. Of the divine pair of horsemen called Aśvins in the Rigveda, Keith (pp. 30–32) writes: "They are beautiful, strong, and red and their path is red or golden. They have a skin filled with honey and touch the sacrifice and the worshipper with their honey-whip. Their chariot alone is described as honey-hued or honey-bearing, and it also has the peculiarity of possessing three wheels, three felloes, and all the other parts triple. The time of the Aśvins' appearance is at dawn; they follow dawn in their car. . . . They are wedded to a deity described as Sūryā, the sun-maiden, or the daughter of the Sun, and it is for her perhaps that their car has three seats and three wheels. . . . Moreover they are physicians who heal diseases, restore sight to the blind, and ward off death from the sick. . . .

"The Indian interpreters of the early period were at a loss to decide the nature of the Aśvins, whom they regarded as heaven and earth, sun and moon, day and night, or even as two kings who were performers of holy acts. It is clear that in essence they are one with the Dioskouroi and with the two sons of the Lettic god who came riding on steeds to woo for themselves the daughter of the Sun or the Moon and who, like the Dioskouroi, are recuers from the ocean. The older identification with sun and moon has been supported, and they have been regarded merely as succouring giants who have no mythical basis, but the more probable view is either that they represent the twilight (half dark, half light), or the morning and the evening star." Guardians of immortality, who can ward off death, restore life, rejuvenate and make fertile, they were once shut off in a lower rank from other gods because of their healing of men. In the Rigveda they rank below Indra, Agni and Soma. When they rejuvenated Cyavana, the ancient husband of Sukanyā, he obtained for them the previously denied right to the Soma drink of the gods. In the later epics they are called Nāsatya and Dasra, and appear in higher status as physicians of the gods and healers of mankind. Some accounts reported one Aśvin as bright and the other dark, in as striking contrast as the black and white eagles of Aeschylus. These twins, sometimes alike, sometimes light and dark, are conceived of both as means of reinforcement and in opposition; most generally they are transmitters and healers.

Like the Aśvins, the Greek Dioskouroi, Castor and Polydeuces (latinized Pollux)—the sons of Zeus by Leda — were handsome horsemen, who rescued many men, especially in battle and at sea. Kerényi (p. 87) also tells of Dioskouroi, who were represented in Samothrace by two brazen phallic statues, similar to those of Hermes, at the entrance to the most secret shrine of the Great Mother. Dawson (p. 374) mentions the ruins of an early Iron Age temple at Nesactium in the south of Istria which contains remarkable statues of twin figures — ithyphallic horsemen — and a goddess of birth, and says that the worship of a triad consisting of the Mother Goddess and two divine horsemen was still prevalent in Pannonia during the Roman period. In Sparta the Dioskouroi were exponents of virtues and valor, called by Plutarch "Guardians." Farnell (p. 210) speaks of their worship at Epidauros, where "they were evidently attracted into the circle of Asklepios as healers, and came to share with him the ministrations of his priest and were — probably in the healing sense — entitled the 'Saviour-gods'."

[2] Their name means "the-two-that-go-together." They are mysterious, and so holy that they are only shown on creation paintings and always in white color. In vol. I, *Navajo Creation Myth, Navajo Religion Series*, published by the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, they are called transmitters of life to all creation and are always mystically present at ceremonies. See page 8 in Part I of this study, fig. 3, and section on "Notes on Parallel Symbols and Rites in India, Tibet and Ancient Persia" in Part III, page 95.

BEAR CONSTELLATION OF SEVEN STARS

The Navajo gourd and skin rattles are decorated with the Great Bear Constellation. The hibernation of bears during the winter, and their survival through apparent death, has caused the Bear Constellation keeping watch to become a universal symbol. The Greeks had November ceremonies when the seven stars were highest, and all over North America, Indians believed the abode of bliss to be among the stars of the Great Bear.

In the Taoist heaven the Bear Constellation is the throne of Shang Ti, the supreme deity. These stars are in China associated with longevity and wealth, and there is a ceremony in which a rice measure (rice being the staff of life, the rice measure is naturally the measure of life) is given to the Mother of the Measure, or Queen of Heaven, who dwells among the stars of the Bear Constellation. The Chinese words for measure and constellation are much alike. Goette (p. 149) describes the green jade Kuei tablet, offered by the Emperor of China at the Altar of the East outside Peiping on the morning of the Spring Equinox, which was incised with a conventional representation of the seven stars of the Great Bear constellation. Among the Ainu of Japan, the bear is the particular intermediary between men and their God, who is equated with the North Star, and to whom they sacrifice the bear.

RITUAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN NAVAJO CONCEPTS AND OTHERS

In a Navajo ceremony, PEBBLES are taken from the nest of the Rock Wren, painted with symbols, used in ritual, and then returned to the birds' nest. MacCurdy (vol. II, p. 6) describes pebbles of the Azilian culture, gathered at Mas d'Azil in the Ariège, on which designs, stylistically similar to Spanish petroglyphs from Estremadura and Andalusia, had been painted in red ocher. Levy (pp. 46–48) mentions the relation of these prehistoric designs on painted pebbles to the decoration of symbolic churingas among present day Australian aborigines.

The BULL-ROARER, which is a special implement of the churinga type used in Australia today to produce the voice of divinity, is likewise paralleled among prehistoric Magdalenian objects. Bayley (vol. I, pp. 85–86) quotes Professor Haddon's opinion that it is perhaps "the most ancient, widely-spread, and sacred religious symbol in the world. It is used in many parts of the world, and the Navajo employ it in many ceremonies to banish evil.

A CIRCLE WITH A CENTRAL SPOT in it occurs frequently among the painted pebbles from Mas d'Azil (MacCurdy, vol. II, p. 218). This is the original symbol for the sun (great male). It is also used as a symbol for the universe in India; and similarly in Masonry.

The symbolism of mandala, the Sanskrit word for magic circle, according to Jung in the *Integration of Personality* "embraces all concentrically arranged figures, round or square, all having a centre; all radial or spherical arrangements."

The Incas and Aztecs took possession of land by HURLING A STONE or arrow to the cardinal points, according to Brinton (p. 69). In the Navajo Fire Dance in the Mountain Chant, the Medicine man throws a burning brand in the four directions before the racing of the "whitened men" around the big fire.

The sunwise SWASTIKA is in India sacred to the male Ganesh, god of prosperity, while the counter-sunwise female swastika, sacred to Kali, typifying the course of the sun below the earth from west to east, symbolizes darkness, death, and destruction, according to d'Alviella (p. 68). Similarly the Navajo sunwise swastika symbol is also beneficent, while the counter-sunwise swastika is used only in rites to banish evil.

The crescent used in Navajo necklaces (fig. 5) is an ancient Mediterranean protective symbol against the "evil eye," brought to the Southwest by the Spaniards. To the Navajo, the crescent is a fertility and protective symbol, and is similar to the Yoni, the female fertility symbol of India. The round beads of the Navajo necklace are seeds. The flowers are representations of squash blossoms, considered to be another symbol of fertility.

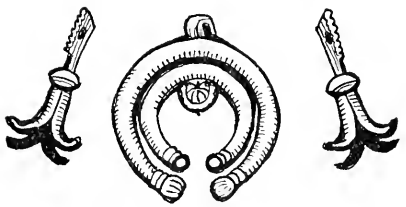


FIG. 5. Squash blossoms and fertility symbol of Navajo necklaces.

Perhaps the Yoni and the Mediterranean charm had a common origin at some time in the distant past (fig. 5).

The divining by arrow and shaking hand in the Navajo Coyote Chant is similar to a divining rite in India.

Many examples of the baleful effects of tying KNOTS are cited by Sir James Frazer, and of cures from disease achieved simply by finding and untying the knots in question. The rite of Wohltrahd in Navajo ceremonial, which includes the untying of slip-knots in woolen cords which are pressed to the body of the patient while praying, is reputed to be efficacious in relieving tensions.

The FOX all over Europe, and particularly in Japan, stands in much the same relation to man as the COYOTE does to the Navajo — as a very clever, mischievous magic creature. Elsewhere he is not usually as powerful, however, as the Navajo coyote, who (like Prometheus) is the bringer of fire to man, and is able to impede the path of the hero, whom he often turns from human into coyote shape. Coyote knows more about the process of creation than the other animals, but as he is a thief who overreaches himself by arrogance, he inevitably fails in his efforts to upset the pattern of life. But all the world over the fox type is allied to sinister forces.

The Navajo THUNDERBIRD is quite similar to the Garuda of India, who is a god, and very combative, particularly with snakes. In the Navajo Creation Myth a great white bird found flying over this present earth when the people reached it from below is nearer to the Garuda: this great bird, the connection between earth and sky, is also found in Mexican myth.

NOTES ON PARALLEL SYMBOLS AND RITES IN INDIA, TIBET AND ANCIENT PERSIA

In 1940 I went to India, partly to see if I could find any connections there with the Navajo religion. I took with me several small colored drawings of sand paintings; one of the Thunderbirds, another of Earth and Sky, one of the Whirling Rainbows, one of the Fire Gods in the stars with the sun in the center and one of the Hozhonji or Blessing Chant. This last painting showed the creation of man with the path of life ascending the cornstalk between the Ethkay-nah-ashi. I also took some Navajo sketches of Indian scenes, and some ceremonial stones such as are used in prayer. I was on the lookout for parallel uses of symbols and rites, and have embodied in the following notes the results of conversations and personal observation during this trip.

On the steamer out to India I had various conversations with Commanding General Kaisar Shumshu of Nepal, the nephew of the former Maharaja of Nepal. General Kaisar, who had represented his uncle at the coronation of King George VI, had been traveling in the United States. He was much interested in the American Indian religion, and expressed the conviction that it came from the same source as the ancient religion of India.

I had letters to the Vedanta Priests at Belur, near Calcutta, and found them not only most interested in my problem but very helpful with suggestions and information. They introduced me to the philologist Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Professor of Indian Linguistics at the University of Calcutta, who was convinced, as were the others whom I consulted, that the Ethkay-nah-ashi and the Aśvins, the mystical twins of the Vedas, have the same meaning, both being healers or transmitters of life. Professor Chatterjee, after examining the Navajo material, expressed the opinion that it was of a very ancient ritual, and thought that it might go back to the cradle of the Aryan race northwest of India.

Mrs. Choudhuri, a niece of the poet Tagore,

took me to see a holy man or teacher who lived in a frugal way in the suburbs of Calcutta, Guru Bijay Krishna Chatterjee. The Guru, who spoke idiomatic English, was a most direct, simple and impressive person. Mrs. Choudhuri, who was a handsome, energetic and vital elderly lady, was not only full of help for the schools in Calcutta, but also an accomplished musician.

My information about Persian parallels comes from Dr. Phyllis Ackerman, formerly of the Iranian Institute, New York.

Tibet

During my stay in India I was able to obtain useful information on Tibetan worship from conversations with Mr. David Macdonald of Kalimpong, near Darjeeling, who had been British Trade Agent in Tibet from 1905 to 1925, had written several books on his experiences, and had married a Tibetan. His familiarity with Tibetan written sources is indicated by an acknowledgment by Sir Charles Bell (1931, pp. 199–200) for help in translating portions of Tibetan histories to Mr. Macdonald, "who speaks and writes Tibetan more easily than English."

Horses play an important role in Tibet. Sir Charles Bell (1924, p. 11) mentions the Tibetan geographical notion that the Tsangpo River rises from the mouth of a horse and flows through "Tibet, the land of horses." He further observes: "The Tibetan pony is certainly one of the characteristics of the country. Princes and peasants, men and women, all ride; and children too, from an early age. And with the mule, the donkey, and the yak, the pony, agile and hardy beyond those of most countries, transports their merchandise and household goods across the plateaux, and up the rough valley and high passes that connect them."

Emil Schlagintweit, in describing Tibetan ceremonies for ensuring the assistance of the gods, includes (pp. 253–56) the invocation of Lungta, "the airy horse, the horse of wind," who permits his rider "the king of the golden wheel, the governor of the four continents (in Sanskrit Mahā Chakravartin Rāja)" to traverse the world between morning and night without experiencing fatigue. Lungta is the symbol of harmony, for it unites in harmony the three conditions of human existence — Srog (the vital principle breath), Lus (body) and Vang (power or moral energy) — upon the union of which happiness depends; it strengthens these conditions so as to cause a union salutary to man. As the efficacy of any Dhāranī, or mystical sentence, for happiness in this existence is made more certain by the presence of Lungta, the likeness of the airy horse appears on many such Tibetan block prints, as well as on the Derchaks, or prayer flags (p. 199), that are met with in front of religious buildings along the roads. The invocation of Lungta ensures a safe and pleasant journey. He also defends against maleficent plants, and deprives hostile constellations of the planets of their obnoxious influence.

At Lhasa in the spring, during a ceremony designed to hasten the coming of the Buddha of the Future, known to Indians as Maitreya and to Tibetans as Gye-wa Cham-pa (Conquering Love), there is a race of riderless horses, the emblem of speed, and wrestling, the emblem of strength. Bell describes this festival in *The People of Tibet*, pp. 272–84.

The wild ass appears in Persia in the decorations of Susa I (3500 B.C.) before the horse, and in the Navajo creation story he was personally created by the great god Begochiddy, whose favorite he was.

Sir Charles Bell (1931, pp. 8–20) describes the pre-Buddhist Pön religion of Tibet as a form of Shamanism or Nature worship, similar to that formerly followed by different tribes of Turkish stock, by the Finns, Lapps and dwellers in the north of Asia on the borders of the Arctic circle, as well as the Manchus and the Indians of North America. Official Chinese histories of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., when the Pönist religion was in full force, mention sacrifices of men, horses, oxen and asses in Tibet. In spite of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, the Pönist faith still survives among the Lepcha, Limbu, Lolo, Lissu and Moso tribes east and southeast of Lhasa, while the epic of Ke-sar is still recited in eastern Tibet. Bell mentions men and women who can recite this epic of Pönist Tibet for ten days without repeating themselves. Mr. David Macdonald told me that offerings of horses and fowl were given to the war god Ke-sar in Lhasa, and that now two images of

horses stand near his shrine and many live fowl are kept there.

Mr. Macdonald's Tibetan priest servant, when I showed him a picture of an Apache, said that years ago the Tibetans sent away a lot of wicked men called Lü. On 15 March of each year this sending away is commemorated by the Lü-tsang ceremony in which there is a scapegoat, and for which images of dough, similar to the Apache picture I showed him, are made. He thought that the Lepchas and people of Sikkim were descendants of those sent away, but that others went further, such as the people of Hor in Turkestan, who (like the Navajo) wear big silver plaques around their waists. In Tibet today the Lü are powerful serpent deities, who have a chapel immediately below the walls of the Potala as well as others in other parts of Lhasa.

In the bazaar at Kalimpong cranes' heads, which are used in Navajo medicine ceremonies, were on sale for medicinal use. Mr. Macdonald told me that Tibetans use conch shells pierced as bracelets, similar to prehistoric Navaho excavated bracelets, and that they also use coral and turquoise in ornaments and earrings, as the Navajos do. The name Sipaho of the painting carried in front of Tibetan weddings and funerals is curiously reminiscent of Sipapu, the name of the lower world in Pueblo mythology.

Schlagintweit (pp. 260–63) describes Tibetan divination ceremonies with arrows that are similar to Navajo uses. In the Thugdam Kantsai ceremony in Tibet, an arrow, to which five silken strips of the five sacred colors are fastened, as well as feathers and charms, is stuck perpendicularly into the ground. In another rite Nagpo Chenpo is invoked by the ceremony of "moving the arrow" both as protection from the hostility of mischievous spirits in general and to detect thieves. An arrow, trimmed with feathers, strips of silk and invocations to Nagpo Chenpo, is handed by the head Lama of the monastery to a novice, who, after taking a seat on a carpet, holds the arrow with one hand, the point resting perpendicularly on the palm of his other hand. By a slight shaking and turning, he brings the point into motion, and gradually lets the arrow fall to the ground. He then seizes it with both hands, and by convulsive shakings keeps it constantly moving, although the spectators believe that the arrow is shaking him. He continues until he is exhausted, when the halt of the arrow is taken as a sign that the evil spirits have been driven away. If used for the detection of thieves, the culprit may be looked for in the direction that the arrow points when it ceases to move. Ritual arrows are similarly used by the Navajo in the Coyote Chant and an almost identical rite occurs in the Red Ant Chant of the Navajo.

Each year the Tibetan government sends out to the governors of districts a proclamation called Tsa-tsik. This root word for general rules of conduct recalls the Navajo word Tsa-tlai, which appears in the Creation Story of the First World as one of the first laws given there.

Flame is honored as one of the indestructible elements among both Tibetans and Navajos.

India

General Kaisar thought the mythic bird Garuda — the "vehicle" of Vishnu, lord of the birds, the charioteer of Sūryā — is the origin of the Navajo Thunderbird. The stepbrothers of the Garuda are Nagas, or snake people. The Garuda image is always put opposite an outside door of the temple of Jagernath, "Lord of the Universe," the sky type of Vishnu. Garuda is a sky symbol in Persia, and related to Nagas, as they represent the water symbol on the world below the sky.

General Kaisar thought that the reference to the underworld as Nagaboka (abode of snakes) means the North American continent. He also believed that Aztec equals Astik, the saviour and protector of snakes mentioned in the Puranas. Ganesha, the Indian elephant god, figures in Mayan sulpture.

The name of Sūryā, or Sun God, is masculine in India, America, Mexico and the Middle East. Savitr is also the Sun God, the Enlivener, and God of Morning, as well as Evening. His chariot is drawn by seven horses (seven rays of light). Sūryā is often spoken of as a bird in the Vedas, and is also described as All-Seeing. The Sun God in Germany and Japan is feminine.

Professor Chatterjee says that the original form of Sūryā was represented with two arms,

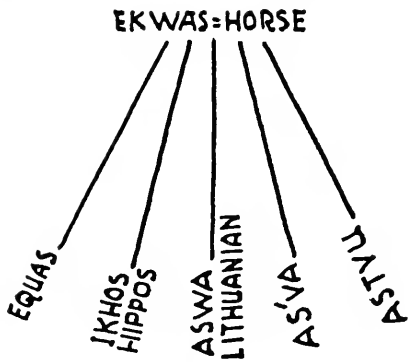


FIG. 6. Derivation of words from pre-Sanskrit.

and accompanied by a dawn maiden on each side and by two Aśvins on horses. In the Calcutta Museum are three images of Sūryā with one pair of arms, and one in a "kudu" (niche). They have one flower in each hand. Swami Oonkarananda of Ramakrishna Math, Belur, near Calcutta, said that Sūryā must have four arms and seven horses, and two wives, and that below him there must be a god with a coach who prevents the world from being burned up with too much light. At Anuradapura in Ceylon is a bas-relief cut in living rock of a warrior with crest, and horse's head at the side, that is reputed to represent Iswara, a pre-Buddhistic Sun God, above a relief of elephants and other figures. Temples there faced East and had four altars. Bands of figures of fat gods of fortune, of horses or sacred swans went around the temples, moving in sunwise direction, as is the custom in circling Buddhist temples.

Professor Chatterjee told me that he believed the word Aśvin to be derived from pre-Sanskrit, as indicated in figure 6. Aśvin twins with similar attributes, and connected with Sūryā, the Sun, are also known in Persia. Dan Gopal Mukerji, a Brahman whom I knew in the United States and consulted about the Navajo material which I was collecting, told me that the Navajo word Ethkay-nah-ashi seemed to him to be similar to a Sanskrit word meaning "the substance through which God creates," and the earthly form "twins that ride on horses."

Swami Oonkarananda, after examining my Navajo material commented on a variety of subjects. He said that the string hand-drill is used to make holy fire; that it is the custom to make a Mandala of Perusha (Dontso) whenever they make Puja (prayer) and to place on it a vessel of water containing a mango twig that has three or five leaves on it; that boys are whipped during their initiation; and that there is fire walking in South India. Mandalas are all memorized, and not made into pictures. These mandalas or Rangole patterns are made by holding a rag soaked in rice liquid in the hand, and letting the liquid run down to earth on the first finger. Swami Oonkarananda felt that there is a possible connection with the Aryans of Mesopotamia or Egypt or Sumeria through paintings. The mandala pattern is used for meditation with no figures placed in it, for the pattern suggests the powers, the center is often Mount Meru, the white inner rings for the initiated (such as Christ), the next circle for active good people, and the next for worldly ones. He mentioned the tradition found in the Vedas and also often in the Mahabarata of an expedition to a distant land, where there were "fair daughters of serpent kings." He spoke of Ardhanariswar, the half male and half female god of the Vedas.

He observed that while in Tibet one held stones in the hand while praying, in India one rather held two long ritual sticks of wood. While pouring butter on a fire with the right hand, it was customary to hold a bunch of tied grasses or fifty kinds of herbs in the left hand. This use of a bundle of herbs which is also a practice in Zoroastrianism, recalled to me the use of bundles of herbs in Navajo ceremonies, particularly in the rite of Wohltrahd, or the untying of knots on a sick person.

Swami Oonkarananda said that the Navajo word Sahanahray, which ends many Navajo prayers, was possibly connected with the word Swaha which is said at the end of the oblation of fire in sacrifice; also that Ethkay-nah-ashi (fig. 7) was probably like Stohas in Vedic during sacrifice.

Professor Chatterjee showed me a painting made in red on a wall (fig. 8) when his son

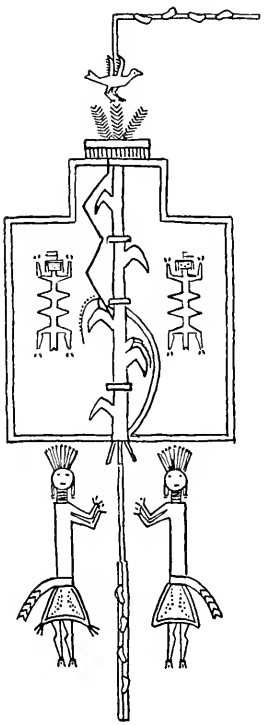
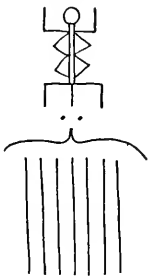


FIG. 7. Ethkay-nah-ashi figures at bottom.



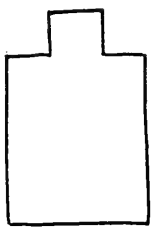


FIG. 8. Design on wall with Perusha on top. FIG. 9. Idealized form of man.

was initiated. Such paintings used to be made on the earth. This painting, with the Purusha at the top, is very much like the prehistoric Persian symbol of the conventionalized bird of the sky, and is identical with the Navajo representation of Dontso, the Messenger.

The Guru Bijay Krishna Chatterjee, after studying the Navajo sand painting of the Creation, found it absolutely correct and understandable, although he had different interpretations from the Navajo. To him Dontso was Purusha, the symbol of the spirit or soul (Logos), which was made under a sacred vessel of water during the Puja, or prayer ceremonial. The position with upraised hands of this figure is identical with that in Egypt of Ka, who is the spirit form of existing man or of any living substance. To him the rainbow and lightning were sensory and motor activities, the cornstalk equilibrium; the whole painting represented development of character. The Ethkay-nah-ashi or Aśvins represented healers and, beyond that, the feminine and masculine form of the breathing and outbreathing of God. By creating all forms of Shaktra, leading up to the gunas, or flowers of corn, which are the qualities of character desired, and then up to Hamsa (the swan of pure spirit level) at the top of the picture, through sensory and motor activities and through the corn stalk of direct growth or equilibrium, the whole form represented the body of man (fig. 7), with matter passing up through form to spirit. He laughed with joy at it. He said that everything was done four times in ceremonies; that from his point of view the colors used by the Navajo in this painting were correct, except that they had substituted black for blue.

The Guru mentioned the legend in the Vedas of King Bali to whom God manifested himself. God, when asked by King Bali what He wanted, said that He wished to put his foot (set his seal) on Creation. God put one foot on the world, one on the spirit, and then asked King Bali where else to put His foot. "On me," said the King, showing his willingness to be used by God, and was thereupon sent to Amors or Antipolis, to make it always holy. The East Indians think this was America.

Swami Nikhilananda of the Vedanta Center

in New York gives this version of the legend of King Bali: "There was a very charitable King, but he had great pride in his charity and the Lord wanted to calm his pride. The Lord came to the King in the guise of a dwarf and the King asked him what he wanted; the Lord said as much land as he could cover with three steps, and the King agreed to give him this. With one step the dwarf covered the whole earth, and with the second he covered the heavens; and King Bali said to the Lord, 'Where can you step now?' And the Lord stepped on his head making him helpless, and said to him, 'Be still, there is no place left except Antipolis.' "

I have seen patterns, of the type used in the ceremony held in honor of King Bali, being made by housewives in southern India at sunset outside their front doors on the earth, after work was over. Outdoors they are made out of rice water squeezed out of a piece of cotton held in the hand. When used indoors, for weddings and other festive occasions, they are painted on the floor in wet color with a finger. In southern India these are called Rangole patterns; in northern India Alpona. Near Puri similar decorations are made on the outside walls of houses of Brahmins.

In the Kandy Museum in Ceylon were examples of painted plaques one and one-half feet long with a handle at the bottom, used in ceremonies that were similar to plaques used in the Navajo Water, Shooting and other ceremonies.

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PRONUNCIATION [1]

a as in ah	ay as in say
e as in end	ai as in aisle
i as in inn	g always hard, as in go
o as in old	j as in English
u as in Yule	zh soft z, like French in Juliet

NASAL SOUNDS

anh, anse like French *an* in *tante*
onh, onse as in French *ton*
inh like French *in* in *intime*

Hyphens in middle of words to denote a separation of tone between two vowels or separating syllables, and to help in pronouncing long compound words. Proper accenting is very important in pronunciation.

In the spelling and pronunciation of Navajo words, an attempt has been made to approximate as closely as possible to an English or Latin equivalent.

[1] Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, *Navajo Religion Series*, vol. 1, *Navajo Creation Myth*, p. 210.

(*Continued from inside front cover*)

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